

Peter von Danzig

The Story of a Great Caravel,

1462-1475



Beata Możejko



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Peter von Danzig

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The Story of a Great Caravel, 1462–1475

By

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Barbara Gostyńska



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Preface and Acknowledgments

This book has its very own history. Many years ago, Professor Błażej Śliwiński (University of Gdańsk) persuaded me to do some research on the medieval ships of Gdańsk, and in particular to look into the story of the great caravel which privateer Paul Beneke had used to capture Hans Memling's now famous *Last Judgement* triptych and bring it to his home city of Gdańsk. After long and laborious searches through archives in Gdańsk, Lübeck, Hamburg, Bruges, Florence and London I managed to complete my work on a monograph about the caravel. It was published in Polish in 2011 by the Gdańsk University Press under the title *Peter von Danzig. Dzieje wielkiej karaweli 1462–1475*. Interest in the book was considerable, and the same publisher decided to reprint it in 2014.

I shared the results of my findings about the caravel at international conferences in Bern and Frankfurt and at the IMC in Leeds, subsequently publishing several articles about selected episodes in the ship's history.¹ In 2017 Brill confirmed their earlier expressed interest in publishing an English edition of my book, and I successfully applied for a grant from the National Programme for the Development of Humanities (*Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki*) to cover the costs of translation and proofreading. Thus it is that English-language readers can now get to know the full story of the great caravel which served in turn under the colours of France and Gdańsk, and whose dramatic fortunes played out between 1462 and 1475. I have amended certain details in relation to the Polish edition and have revised the bibliography.

The translation and publication of this book would not have been possible without the help and kindness of many friends and colleagues. I am greatly indebted to Dr Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz (University of Amsterdam), as well as

1 Możejko, "The Seven Voyages of the Great Caravel *Peter von Danzig* – a New Type of Ship in the Southern Baltic in the Late Medieval Period", in *Wasser in der Mittelalterlichen Kultur. Gebrauch-Wahrnehmung-Symbolik*, eds. G. Huber-Rebenich, C. Rohr and M. Stolz, Berlin–Boston 2017, pp. 229–40; Możejko, "Maritime Gdańsk in the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth century: The phenomenon of privateer Paul Beneke and the great caravel *Peter von Danzig*" in: *New Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Poland and Prussia, The impact of Gdańsk*, ed. B. Możejko, London and New York, Routledge 2017, pp. 102–13; Możejko, "From the Baltic to the North Sea: Gdańsk City Councillor Berndt Pawest's Maritime Service in 1471–72", in: *Merchants, Pirates, and Smugglers. Criminalization, Economics, and the Transformation of the Maritime World (1200–1600)*, eds. T. Heebøll-Holm, P. Höhn and G. Rohmann, Campus 2019, pp. 313–28. Because of the restricted length of these articles, they cover only certain major themes and contain numerous footnotes featuring references to the Polish edition of this monograph.

Professors Piotr Górecki (University of California) Andrzej Groth (University of Gdańsk), and Joachim Zdrenka (University of Zielona Góra). My sincerest thanks also go to Julian Deahl, former history acquisitions editor at Brill, and in particular to Dr Kate Hammond, Brill's acquisitions editor for medieval studies, and her assistant Marcella Mulder. All of their editorial work as well as their commitment and support during my efforts to secure funding for the translation of this book, and throughout the publication process, has been invaluable.

I would also like to thank Anna Kulawczuk from the Research Project Management Office of the University of Gdańsk for her assistance with the NPRH grant, Dr Piotr Samól (Gdańsk University of Technology) for preparing the maps in this book, and the Director of the Gdańsk University Press Joanna Kamień for permitting the English edition to be published by Brill.

This book owes its present form to its translator, Barbara Gostyńska, who, as always, scrutinised my text, made insightful comments and questions, unfailingly met what were very tight deadlines and was consistently obliging whenever I wanted to change or add anything. I am very grateful to her for all this. I would also like to thank Nidha Jeddy and Kathryn Sleight.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to all those who have supported me, including my students.

Any errors are entirely my own.

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Abbreviations

Acts	Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527, with an introduction by L. Lyell, assisted by F.D. Watney, Cambridge 1936
AP Gdańsk	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [Gdańsk State Archive]
Callimachi	<i>Philippi Callimachi Epistulae Selectae</i> , eds. I. Lichońska and G. Pianko, Wrocław 1967
Carteggi	<i>Carteggi Diplomatici Fra Milano Sforzesca e la Borgogna (8 marzo 1453–12.Juglio 1475)</i> , a curia di E. Sestan, Roma 1985
Caspar Weinreich	<i>Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche</i> , eds. T. Hirsch and F.A. Vossberg, Berlin 1855 (1973 reprint)
Caspar Weinreich, Beilage I	T. Hirsch and F.A. Vossberg, "Das grosse Krawel, die Gelayde und das Bild vom jüngsten Gerichte", in: <i>Caspar Weinreich</i> , Beilage I, pp. 92–102
Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II	Das Danizger Rathmannes Berndt, Pawest's Sendschreiben an der Rath von Danzig aus den Jahren 1471–74, eds. T. Hirsch and F.A. Vossberg, in: <i>Caspar Weinreich</i> , Beilage II, pp. 102–22
HR	<i>Hanserecesse</i>
HGB	Hansische Geschichtsblätter
HU	<i>Hansisches Urkundenbuch</i>
Journal de Girolamo	E.F. de Roover, "Le voyage de Girolamo de Pisa á Bruges et retour à bord de la galère bourguignonne 'San Giorgio'", <i>Annales de la Societé d'Emulation de Bruges</i> , 91, 1954, pp. 117–34, pp. 135–36 Annex: Journal de Girolamo di Carlo di Marco Strozii
Der Peter	O. Lienau, <i>Das grosse Kraweel der Peter von Danzig 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegaltung</i> , Danzig 1943
PH	Przegląd Historyczny [Historical Review]
SBPN	Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego [Biographical dictionary of Pomerania]
Thunert	<i>Akten der Ständetage Preußens königlichen Anteils</i> , ed. F. Thunert, Bd. I, Danzig 1896
ZH	Zapiski Historyczne [Historical Notes]
ZWG	Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtvereins

Introduction

1 Subject Matter and Current State of Research

Medieval Gdańsk already has a fairly extensive historiography, yet issues relating to the city's maritime past have received relatively little attention. This monograph attempts to redress the balance, at least partially, by focusing on the fortunes of a ship known in sources of the day as *S. Petrus de Rupella* and *Peter von Danczk (Danzke)*, and in historiography as *Pierre de la Rochelle*, *Peter von Danzig*, and finally *Piotr z Gdańska*.¹ Named after Saint Peter,² the part of her history associated with Gdańsk spans the years from 1462 to 1475, hence from the time when she first appeared in the roads of Gdańsk (by all accounts, probably not long after she had been built) to the point when her career came to an end after she was heavily damaged off the west coast of France. To date, in popular consciousness this ship remains best-known above all for her part in the daring raid carried out by Gdańsk privateer Paul Beneke which resulted in the capture of Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* triptych, now housed in the National Museum, Gdańsk, where it is one of the city's major tourist attractions.

- 1 Andreas Kammler, *Up Eventur Untersuchungen zur Kaperschiiffahrt 1471–1512, vornehmlich nach Hamburg und Lübecker Quellen*, Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte, Bd. 37, St. Katharinen 2005, pp. 77–78, n. 259. Kammler wrote about the ship *Peter von Danzke*, stressing that such a name does not appear in the literature. The change to *Peter von Danzig* came about with the evolution of the German language. He believed that the Polish version *Piotr z Gdańska* is also quite unnecessary. Kammler is, of course, right in asserting that “von Danzig” is a modern variant; however, it is this name that has become widely accepted in the literature and which is also used in this monograph. Naturally, the name *Piotr z Gdańska* is used ahistorically, and is misleading for Polish readers.
- 2 In documents dating from August 1464 the name of the ship is given as “schepes genant Sanctus Petrus de Rupella” (HU, 9, nos. 122–23), whilst a letter of 17 September 1464 from Gdańsk to Louis XI of France makes mention of “navem caravela sancti Petri de Rupella nominatam” (ibidem, no. 127). Thus, we can automatically discount Otto Lienau's suggestion (*Das grosse Kraweel der Peter von Danzig 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegelung*, Danzig 1943, pp. 18–19) that the name of the ship may have honoured a shipowner named Peter. It is obvious that this was not a reference to the name of the ship's owner but to that of her patron saint. The city council of Gdańsk made a conscious decision to invoke this particular saint (given that in a letter to Louis XI the council refers to “navus caravele Sancti Petri de rupella vulgaliter nuncupatur”; for sources see Table 1 herein). There is no doubt that the name given to the ship in Gdańsk referred to this same saint. See also remarks made by Reinhard Paulsen, “Schiffahrt, Hanse und Europa im Mittelalter. Schiffe am Beispiel Hamburgs, europäische Entwicklungslinien und die Forschung in Deutschland”, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte* 73, 2016, Böhlau, Cologne, p. 212.

Historiographical interest in the title ship is primarily attributable to Theodor Hirsch and Friedrich August Vossberg. In 1855 they published *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik*, a late 15th-century chronicle of Gdańsk, heralding at the same time an article in which they traced the history of this ship from the moment she entered the port of Gdańsk and throughout 1471–1475, when she served under the flag of Gdańsk.³ Based on facts from the aforementioned chronicle, they gave the ship's dimensions (length: 150 ells, breadth: 43 ells) and related that in the spring of 1462, sailing as a merchant vessel laden with salt and manned by a French crew, she had been damaged in the Gdańsk roads, losing her main mast. They referred to the ship as “The Great Caravel” (*Das grosse Krawel*) in the title of their article, highlighting that she had been one of the largest merchantmen of her day. Drawing further on Caspar Weinreich's chronicle (“kwam das grosse kraffel von lebran”) they concluded that this particular type of caravel hailed from Libourne in Aquitaine (south of La Rochelle), and was known in France and the Low Countries as a “Liburnen”, the name being turned into “Lebran”/“Lenbort” in Gdańsk.⁴ As a final word on this subject, it is worth noting that in a later complaint made against Paul Beneke the caravel was also referred to as being “de Lyborne”.⁵

Hirsch and Vossberg went on to state that the stricken ship's captain, Marot Boeff,⁶ left her in the port of Gdańsk and set off for France to seek help. He appointed Pierre Bezart as his replacement, but Bezart died shortly afterwards and was in turn replaced by Pierre de Nantes. This new stand-in captain took steps to try and repair the vessel, but lacking the necessary funds he ended up using her as collateral against a loan of 1000 marks, which he took from two citizens of Gdańsk: Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange.⁷ After an absence of 18 months,

3 Theodor Hirsch and Friedrich August Vossberg, “Das grosse Krawel, die Gelayde und das Bild vom jüngsten Gerichte”, in: *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preußen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, Beilage 1 (hereinafter: *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1), Berlin 1855 (1973 facsimile), pp. 92–102.

4 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 1, n. 3 and Beilage 1, p. 93.

5 Willem Pieter Blockmans, ed., *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Statetn van Vlaanderen (1467–1477). Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse Steven, kasselrijen en vorstelijke ambtenaren*, Brussels 1971, no. 135, p. 204 d. (which even includes the information that she was referred to as “de Lyborne”); cf. HR, 7, p. 198. It should, however, be remembered that “liburna-ae” is the Latin word for a light, fast-sailing warship or merchantman. For more about the term “Liburnen” see Reinhard Paulsen, “Die Koggendiskussion in der Forschung. Methodische Probleme und ideologische Verzerrungen”, *HGB* 128, 2010, pp. 47–55, and also Idem, *Schiffart*, pp. 127–32. Alternatively, this may have been a reference to the fact that the caravel was built of timber from Libourne, which was famous for providing high quality wood for use in ship-building and wine barrel production.

6 When relating the content of historiographical accounts, I have used the spellings of names and surnames that appear in the given work.

7 *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 93 (no sources given).

Marot Boeff returned in the company of a French knight, Pierre Cosmoth, in order to reclaim the ship. This led to a dispute with Feldstete and Lange, and to Pierre de Nantes being brought before the court (by the French) for unlawfully securing a loan against the ship.⁸ The whole incident also sparked a dispute between Gdańsk and Louis XI of France, the king threatening (in 1466) to detain Hanseatic goods in France if Gdańsk did not return the caravel. Hirsch and Vossberg also asserted that in 1470 Gdańsk had decided that the vessel should be scrapped, though ultimately this decision was reversed because of impending war between the Hanse and England. By the spring of 1470 she was being overhauled by the master shipbuilder Hans Pale. On 19 August 1471 the “great caravel”, now renamed *Peter von Danzig*, set out to sea as a warship under the command of Gdańsk city councillor Berndt Pawest, carrying a crew of 350.⁹ In early 1472 she was involved in nine weeks of action at sea between Plymouth and the west coast of Brittany. Having incurred heavy damage, the caravel was forced into a lengthy stay at the port of Sluis (near Bruges). While she was delayed there during June and July of 1472, a Hanseatic fleet from Lübeck engaged in unsuccessful skirmishes in the war against England.¹⁰ Jaded by his stint in command of the caravel, Berndt Pawest was replaced by the Gdańsk privateer Paul Beneke, who was renowned for his numerous exploits at sea (described by Hirsch and Vossberg), and who also secured himself a one-sixteenth share in ownership of the warship.¹¹ On the strength of letters from Lübeck and Hamburg written in February 1473, Hirsch and Vossberg also ascertained that the ship (hitherto managed by the city council of Gdańsk) was sold into private hands, becoming the property of three Gdańsk citizens: Johann Sidinghusen, Tiedeman Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof.¹² Further on in their article, the two historians concentrated on the episode that saw Paul Beneke use the caravel to capture a Florentine (Burgundian) galley,¹³ complete with a valuable cargo which included Hans Memling’s *Last Judgement*.¹⁴ They also touched on the repercussions of this event after 1475.¹⁵

8 Ibidem, p. 94, (no sources given).

9 Ibidem, p. 94, including a general reference to the letters of Berndt Pawest.

10 Ibidem, p. 95.

11 In this instance sources are cited (*Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, nos. 11 and 16: two letters by Berndt Pawest).

12 Ibidem, p. 95, n. 4: the reference numbers cited therein are no longer used in the Gdańsk State Archive.

13 They used the term “die Galeyde” in the title of their article, and provided further clarification on p. 96: “eine Galeyde (Galeere)”.

14 Ibidem, pp. 95–98.

15 Ibidem, pp. 99–102: in this instance sources are cited.

Hirsch and Vossberg's work, which was groundbreaking for its time, making use as it did not only of Caspar Weinreich's chronicle but also of archival sources that were not already widely known,¹⁶ had a lasting impact on the way in which subsequent generations of scholars perceived this topic. It is no exaggeration to say that up until the early 1940s their findings were the only ones referred to in the historiography of this subject, with no independent research being done into the story of the caravel. Some scholars (only a few of whom are mentioned here as examples), such as Otto Meltzing in his 1906 article about the Florentine merchant banker Tommaso Portinari,¹⁷ Paul Simson in his 1913 overview of the history of Gdańsk,¹⁸ or Hans Fiedler writing in 1928 about relations between Gdańsk and England from the late 14th to the early 17th century,¹⁹ simply repeated Hirsch and Vossberg's assertions without providing any new information about the caravel. Others merely fleshed out the story with small albeit ultimately important details. In 1881 Rudolf Damus, in his work on contacts between Gdańsk and France,²⁰ remarked on voyages to Baie made by Gdańsk's merchants to fetch Atlantic salt, and on their contacts with Bordeaux.²¹ He tackled the subject of the caravel, though based mostly on Hirsch and Vossberg's study; however, he did also cite two previously unreported mentions from the city of Gdańsk's correspondence register (known as the *Missiva*) and from two other letters held at the then Municipal Archive (now the Gdańsk State Archive). Furthermore, he was the first to point out that the captain of the caravel was actually named Aymar, and that he had

16 First and foremost they found and published (*Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11) letters by the warship's first Gdańsk commander, councilman Berndt Pawest, though they did not print them in full, publishing some of them in translation into modern German. They also used letters from the *Missiva* – Gdańsk's correspondence register (one letter dating from 17 September 1464 and another from 23 April 1466), as well as documents catalogued under the now obsolete reference numbers XXVII, nos. 633–41 and LXIII, no. 1629.

17 Otto Meltzing, "Tommaso Portinari und sein Konflikt mit der Hanse", *HGB* 33, 1906, pp. 101–24 (reference is made to the story of the caravel under Paul Beneke's command).

18 Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. I, Danzig 1913, pp. 261–62, 289–94 (including an epilogue concerning the period after Paul Beneke's raid).

19 Hans Fiedler, "Danzig und England; die Handelsbestrebungen der Engländer vom Ende des 14 bis zum Ausgang des 17 Jahrhunderts", *zwG* 68, 1928, pp. 95–97. In this article the points made about the Anglo-Hanseatic war (which Fiedler claims was waged during 1469–1476) remain salient. He summed up the part which the caravel (by then already renamed *Peter von Danzig* and commanded by Berndt Pawest) had played in this war in several sentences, adding a brief mention about Paul Beneke taking over her command.

20 Rudolf Damus, "Danzig Beziehungen zu Frankreich", *zwG* 5, 1881, p. 26.

21 Ibidem, p. 27.

had to return to France because of family matters,²² though he did not specify exactly what these were. He was also the first to draw attention to the fact that many years later Aymar Beuf, who was referred to as “maire, cappitaine de Rochelle”, had demanded 10,000 crowns in compensation from Gdańsk (Damus took this information from a letter written by Beuf on 16 June, no year given).²³ In 1912 Otto Held, writing somewhat more broadly about Franco-Hanseatic relations from the mid-15th century up until the reign of Charles VIII,²⁴ and devoting much of his attention to relations between Gdańsk and France, also mentioned that the caravel *S. Peter von La Rochelle* had visited the port of Gdańsk. He repeated facts that had been published by Hirsch and Vossberg, but also added new details about the caravel (though without citing a source), stating that the ship’s patrons²⁵ had been Marot Beuff and Peter Molle, merchants trading with Ruthenia and Poland, while the owner had been Pierre Beuff, who died without an heir, after which the caravel became the property of Louis XI, king of France. Held also made mention of the loan which had been taken out against the ship and of its consequences. Again without citing a source, he noted that the two (unnamed) Gdańsk citizens who had given Pierre de Nantes this loan later demanded compensation from the French (captain) on pain of not being allowed to leave the port of Gdańsk. Held claimed that the sum in question was eventually paid by Johann Fere, mayor of Gdańsk.²⁶ Citing documents published during the late 19th century in the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* and the *Hanserecesse* series, he also wrote of the dispute that had rumbled on for many years concerning the return of the caravel and of the French demands for 10,000 crowns in compensation.²⁷ However, he gave only a cursory description (still based on documents from both aforementioned publication series) of the caravel’s time in the service of Gdańsk.²⁸

This brief review shows that without conducting any standalone research into the caravel it was difficult for scholars who came after Hirsch and Vossberg to add any new insights into her Franco-Gdańsk history.

This situation remained unchanged until the early 1940s and the work of Professor Otto Lienau, a naval architect at the Technische Hochschule in

22 Ibidem, p. 28.

23 Ibidem, p. 29.

24 Held, “Die Hanse und Frankreich von der Mitte des 15. Jh. bis zum Regierungstritt Karls VIII”, *HGB* 18, 1912, pp. 121–237.

25 In this instance, the term “patron” meant the person in charge of the ship, hence the captain. For more on this subject see Chapter 1, where sources and literature are cited.

26 Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 198.

27 Ibidem, p. 199.

28 Ibidem, pp. 224–25.

Gdańsk (and rector of this seat of learning during 1930–1931).²⁹ He focused not so much on presenting a full history of the ship as on making the first ever attempt to reconstruct her design plans. Not being a historian he felt no compunction to reflect on the work of those who had gone before him, and he seemed not to notice the findings of Hirsch and Vossberg (or at least he made no mention of them), referring only to Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, which they had published, by its archive reference number (300 H q Bb32). He indicated³⁰ that as well as the chronicle he would draw on 40 extant letters written by Berndt Pawest, the first person from Gdańsk to command the caravel. In reality, however, he used only a handful of excerpts from these letters, quoting from translations into modern German. It was a similar story with the loan agreement (hypothecation bond) concerning the ship (he had access to a modern German translation of the inventories relating to this document of May 1464). He was also aware of one of Paul Beneke's letters of 1473 and of the papal bull of 1477, and made reference to entries in the 16th-century chronicles of Albert Krantz and Reimar Kock (more of these chronicles later).

In terms of the vessel's technical details – the subject which interested him most – he concluded that the ship had been a three-master, with the tallest mast positioned in the middle, flanked by two smaller ones (the foremast and the mizzenmast). Each mast carried only a single sail,³¹ and Lienau deemed that ships of this type had been built in Brittany.³² Examining iconographic evidence, he drew attention to a manuscript by René, duke of Anjou, entitled *Livre du coeur d'amours épris*, which he believed dated from 1460–1470³³ and which supposedly featured an illustration of such ships, and to a miniature

29 Lienau produced two works about the caravel, one of them aimed at a wider audience: "Geschichte und Aussehen des Großen Kraweels 'Peter von Danzig' 1462–1475. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion", *Schiffahrtstechnische Forschungshefte* 13, 1942; the other a scholarly study: *Das grosse Kraweel der Peter von Danzig 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegeltung* (hereinafter: *Der Peter*), Danzig 1943. However, in the first of these (published in 1942) he stated that he was popularising a scientific article that he had already published, even though it is actually attributed in print to the following year (1943).

30 Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 5 (where sources are listed).

31 Ibidem, p. 5.

32 Ibidem, p. 5.

33 In reality this allegorical romance was written in 1457 by King René of Anjou. The manuscript held in Vienna contains 16 miniatures (but none of them depict a ship), as does the manuscript held in Paris – as concluded from <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60005361/f398.image> (accessed 6 February 2011). Krystyna Secomska writes about the work itself in *Mistrzowie i księżęta. Malarstwo francuskie XV i XVI wieku*, Warsaw 1989, pp. 88–91, citing a publication I have been unable to access: Ottokar Smital and Emil Winkler, *Herzog Rene von Anjou, "Livre du cuer d'amour epris"*, Vienna 1926. In *Der Peter* (p. 15) Lienau includes a reproduction of a French miniature featuring warships, most probably

in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* dating from the early latter half of the 15th century.³⁴ In determining the size of the ship, her carrying capacity and displacement, he repeated the information stated in *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik* that the vessel had measured 25 fathoms in length from rudder to stem and 21 ells and 3 fingers in breadth from side to side.³⁵ In essence, he approached the problem with the same data that had been available to Hirsch and Vossberg (whom he had overlooked), but as an engineer he was able to get more out of it than a historian could. Using this data he calculated that the deck was 43.12 m long (1 fathom = 1.725 m) and 12.140 m wide (1 ell = 0.575 m) from starboard to portside, while the overall breadth (beam) of the hull, measured at the waterline, amounted to 12.20 m.³⁶ He also modelled his calculations on a reconstruction of the carrack *Jesus von Lübeck*, produced in 1941 by Karl Reinhardt,³⁷ using it as the basis for determining several other of the ship's parameters, even though *Jesus von Lübeck* had been built around 1544, hence over 80 years later than *Pierre de la Rochelle*. Ignoring this fact, Lienau's calculations encompassed the following data: "L" – keel length, "B" – midship breadth (beam) and "Hol" – hull depth, measured from the lowermost deck,³⁸ and amounting to four-ninths of the ship's beam. Based on this he calculated the ship's carrying capacity by applying Reinhardt's formula³⁹ $L \times B \times \text{Hol} : 100$ (measured in English feet) = tons burden, which using the projected dimensions⁴⁰ $102' \times 39.34' \times 17.47' : 100$ gave a result of 701 tons bm, hence 416 lasts.

based on the aforementioned publication given that he cites "Wien 1926". It appears, however, that this reproduction must have come from a different manuscript.

34 Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 8.

35 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 2.

36 Lienau converted the data which the chronicler gave in ells and fathoms, concluding that 1 fathom amounted to 3 ells, which was the equivalent of 1.725 m, while 1 ell equated to 0.575 m (*Der Peter*, p. 9).

37 Karl Reinhardt, *Rekonstruktion der Karacke "Jesus von Lübeck"*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde, NF, B. Reihe, H. 16, 1941, p. 49.

38 Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 9. Apart from the lowermost deck, Lienau states that the ship must also have had two other decks, measuring at least 5.5–6.5 (2 metres) high, hence the ship's moulded depth must have been 9.10 m.

39 Cf. Walther Vogel, *Geschichte der deutschen Seeschifffahrt, Bd. 1 (Von der Urzeit bis zum Ende des xv Jahrhunderts)*, Berlin 1915 (1973 reprint), p. 480, wherein the ship's lasts are calculated using the following formula: keel length (*Kiellänge*) multiplied by maximum beam (*Breite*) multiplied by hull depth (*Naumtiefe*), the last of these dimensions being given in feet, divided by 200 = number of lasts. This formula was also cited by Kazimierz Lepszy (*Dzieje floty polskiej*, Gdańsk–Bydgoszcz–Szczecin 1947, p. 302, n. 34), though he translated *Breite* as "height".

40 An explanation of where the figures used in this formula were taken from is provided in Lienau, *Geschichte und Aussehen des grossen Kraweels*, p. 12.

From this he estimated the ship's principal dimensions as follows: length overall – 52.20 m; length between perpendiculars – 45.40 m; deck length – 43.12 m; length on waterline – 41.60 m; moulded depth (*Seitenhöhe*) excluding keel – 9.10 m; draught excluding keel – 5 m, including keel – 5.33 m. He also determined the ship's internal volume in gross register tons ("Verdrängung b. 5 m Tfg"), which equated to English cubic feet,⁴¹ arriving at a figure of 1607 cbm. Her "Tragfähigkeit b. 5 m. Tfg", in other words her deadweight tonnage ("load capacity"),⁴² was estimated at 800 tonnes.⁴³ Deadweight tonnage is a measure of the maximum weight a ship can carry without exceeding her permissible draught.⁴⁴ Lienau also reconstructed the caravel's rigging and sail area⁴⁵ (based on the hypothecation bond of May 1464, further details of which are given in Chapter 1). Naturally, the details of this reconstruction were dictated by his estimates of the ship's size. He determined that the mainsail (*Grot*) and mizzen sail (*Besahn*) had both had bonnets, in other words additional pieces of canvas attached to the sails to increase their surface area. The main mast was to have measured 41 m in length (rising 32 m above the deck and extending 9 m below deck) and been made up of several sections.⁴⁶ Finally, Lienau also concluded (based on the hypothecation bond) that the caravel had carried two boats: a large 7.5-metre *esping*, and a smaller 4.5-metre boat. The ship's dimensions and carrying capacity calculated by Lienau appear time and again in the later literature on this subject, though often only in summary form.⁴⁷

In the section dealing with the caravel's history under Berndt Pawest, Lienau made the novel observation (based on modern German translations of some of Pawest's letters) that she had been accompanied in the campaign against

41 Lepszy, op. cit., p. 25.

42 Deadweight tonnage is the sum of the weights of the cargo, crew, food supplies, drinking water and spare parts which a ship can carry without exceeding her draught (cargo capacity = mass of cargo). The term *Tragfähigkeit* was translated as "load capacity" by Lepszy (op. cit., p. 25).

43 Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 9–10.

44 Vogel, op. cit., pp. 553–60; Lepszy, op. cit., pp. 24–25.

45 Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 10. He concluded that the total surface area of the sails had amounted to 757 m²: jib – 103 m²; mainsail – 552 m², mizzen – 102 m².

46 Ibidem, p. 15.

47 See, for example, Zbigniew Binerowski and Stanisław Gierszewski, "Rzemieślnicza produkcja drewnianych żaglowców od XIV do połowy XIX stulecia", in: *Historia budownictwa okrętowego na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim*, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1972, p. 130, where in deck length is given as 43 m, width – 12 m, tonnage – over 500 lasts (c. 1225 t). Henryk Paner, "Wyspa Spichrzów w Gdańsku", *Pomerania Antiqua* 15, 1993, p. 170, states that the ship's parameters were as follows: length – 55.2 m; breadth – 12.2 m; height of hull (side) – 9 m; draught – 5 m; displacement – 1600 t; deadweight – 800 t.

England by another warship from Gdańsk, captained by skipper Martin Ertmann.⁴⁸ Lienau was also the first person to establish the expedition route that both ships had taken in August 1471 and, just as importantly, included simple maps showing the routes navigated by the caravel during 1472–1475.⁴⁹ He also took a slightly closer look at the best-known incident involving the caravel (commanded at the time by Paul Beneke), which had culminated in the capture of a galley carrying, among other things, Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* altarpiece. In this instance, however, his lack of training as a historian means that the reconstructed sequence of events he put forward is not altogether reliable. Lienau placed too much faith in the early-modern chronicles of Albert Krantz and Reimar Kock, in which these incidents had already been woven into a legend. Furthermore, later-published sources contradicted his conclusions about where the caravel had famously captured the richly-laden galley. Lienau deduced that this had taken place in the Thames estuary, while in reality the whole encounter had played out on the other side of the English Channel, off the Flemish coast. This controversy will be examined in further detail in Chapter 3.

Although when evaluating Lienau's work, the historical narrative he constructed (which was not his field of expertise) should be regarded separately from that part which deals with the ship's technical parameters (a subject he approached with the assurance afforded by his professional standing), from a historian's point of view even his findings concerning the caravel's design seem to rely solely on (admittedly fairly logical) conjecture rather than being supported by historical sources. Lienau also opted for logic over sources (without admitting to it) when writing about the ship's history, stating, for example, that the caravel's overhaul in Gdańsk had involved the use of the *Żuraw* (one of the city's water gates, positioned on the River Motława at the end of *ul. Szeroka* and equipped with a crane).⁵⁰ He made up for the absence of any confirmation of this fact in historical sources by "logically" applying the knowledge that the crane had been in operation since 1444. Nonetheless, even though historians are sceptical about many aspects of Lienau's study (most conceding that we still do not know exactly what the caravel looked like), his research efforts have to be rated very highly. They represented the sum total of what could be gleaned on this subject in the mid-20th century, and any future attempts to reconstruct the caravel cannot fail to acknowledge his work; it will always serve as a point of reference.

48 Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 20.

49 Ibidem, pp. 20, 22.

50 Ibidem, p. 20.

No one else since Lienau has addressed the history of the caravel in a dedicated article or thesis.⁵¹ All later contributions to the historiography (both Polish and European) of the subject still refer to the findings of Hirsch, Vossberg and Lienau, without providing any fresh insights into the history of this vessel. The only possible exception is the hypothesis (which those not so well-versed in the subject even take as fact) that the ship may not have been a caravel but a carrack. This typological issue is examined in detail below.

Given the large number of marginal references that add little or nothing to the history of the caravel, there is no need for a separate discussion of each of these publications. One work which should, however, be singled out is that written in 1947 by Kazimierz Lepszy.⁵² This author was more interested in issues of typology and did not contribute anything new to the caravel's story.⁵³ He repeated the opinions of those who had gone before him, stating that the vessel had been much admired, and that her hull design had had a lasting impact on shipbuilding in Gdańsk and throughout the Hanseatic world,⁵⁴ as well as mentioning that the caravel had been overhauled in Gdańsk and converted into a warship, and asserting that she had been renamed *Groote Kraweel* before being sent out to the North Sea to do battle against the English. For the next few decades Lepszy's ideas would form the backbone of Polish literature on this subject, which in many instances made no reference to earlier German-language studies.⁵⁵ However, the main problem was that authors stopped examining sources, which led to erroneous claims being perpetuated: for example, that the caravel had met her demise in 1473 at a port on the Zwin, near Bruges,⁵⁶ when in fact her career came to an end elsewhere and two years later.

51 In 1952 *Seekiste*, a popular journal on historic ships, carried an article (written in 1941/42) by Otto Kallweit about the reconstruction of *Peter von Danzig* which contributed little more to the subject than a schematic and virtually unintelligible drawing. In terms of its historical content, it repeated the findings of Hirsch and Vossberg: see Kallweit, "Der 'Peter von Danzig 1471; (Das 'Große Kraweel')", *Die Seekiste. Ein Journal der Schifffahrt*, 1952, no. 7.

52 Lepszy, op. cit., p. 13.

53 Ibidem, p. 48.

54 Ibidem, p. 14.

55 See, for example, Jan Szymczak, *Początki broni palnej w Polsce (1383–1533)*, Łódź 2004, p. 293. This is particularly evident in popular-scientific publications, where Lepszy's work is the only one referred to in discussing issues concerning the caravel. See, for example, Józef W. Dyskant, *Zatoka Świeża 1463*, Warsaw 1987, p. 203.

56 Henryk Samsonowicz, "Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy", in: *Historia Gdańska* 11, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, pp. 147 and 316–17; Joachim Zdrenka, "Beneke Paweł (ok. 1430–1477), żeglarz i kaper gdański", in: *SBPN* 1, ed. Stanisław Gierszewski, Gdańsk 1992, p. 87.

Research carried out by historians from other European countries also added little to what was known about the caravel, though some of the observations made about her were valuable in as much as they provided a much broader European perspective on maritime affairs. The best-known and most frequently cited popular history of the Hanse, by Philippe Dollinger,⁵⁷ gave a brief outline of the caravel's story. The Gdańsk episode of her past was touched on in 1986 and later years by French historian Simonne Abraham-Thisse, in particular in her article on Hanseatic trade with the Bourgneuf region (north of La Rochelle, France).⁵⁸ She based most of her remarks on information from Caspar Weinreich's chronicle and on the work of Rudolf Damus, summarising the subject on two pages and not including any wider analysis of her own. Another French historian, Mathias Tranchant, made use of Abraham-Thisse's findings in a monograph on late medieval trade in the port of La Rochelle (2003).⁵⁹ He also added that *Pierre de la Rochelle* was not the only caravel known to have been from La Rochelle, sources pertaining to the port recording the presence of a *Jehan de la Rochelle* in March 1470.⁶⁰ A brief note about the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* and her fortunes in Gdańsk appears in Pierre Monnet's work on medieval ports (2005).⁶¹ A broader treatment of the subject was presented by Andreas Kammler in his monograph on privateer operations

57 Philippe Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy XII–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 273 and 275.

58 Simone Abraham-Thisse, "Le commerce des Hanséates de la Baltique à Bourgneuf", in: *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 17e congrès, Nantes, 1986. L'Europe et l'Océan au Moyen Âge. Contribution à l'Histoire de la Navigation, pp. 131–81. This author also made mention of the caravel in another article: "Les Intérêts des Hanséates en France: XIIIe–XVe siècles", in: *Hansekaufleuten in Brügge, Teile 4: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Brügge April 1996*, eds. Nils Jörn, Werner Paravicini and Horst Wernicke, Frankfurt am Main 2000, pp. 349–80, see in particular notes on pp. 379–80. One of Abraham-Thisse's more recent articles also provides valuable information about the broader historical context: "Les Relations commerciales entre la France et les villes Hanséatiques de Hambourg, Lübeck et Brême au Moyen Âge", in: *Les relations entre la France et les villes hanséatiques de Hambourg, Brême, Lübeck, Moyen Âge – XIX e siècle (Die Beziehungen zwischen Frankreich und den Hansestädten Hamburg, Bremen und Lübeck. Mittelalter – 19. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Isabelle Richefort and Berghart Schmidt, Collection: Diplomatie et Histoire 13, 2006, pp. 29–74 (I am grateful to my colleague Dr Karol Polejowski of the University of Gdańsk for making this book available to me).

59 Mathias Tranchant, *Le commerce maritime de la Rochelle à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rennes 2003, p. 336.

60 Ibidem, p. 221.

61 Pierre Monnet, "Portus qui dicitur haven vulgo Porto martimes et fluviaux dans les pays d'Empire: bilan et perspectives de recherche", in: *Ports Martimes et Ports Fluviaux Au Moyen Âge, Congrès de la SHMES, La Rochelle, 5 et 6 juin 2004*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne (Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public, série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 81), 2005, pp. 33–34.

during 1471–1512, based largely on primary sources from Hamburg and Lübeck (2005).⁶² (Other relevant works by this author will be discussed later.)

Leaving aside the story of *Peter von Danzig*, Kammler's dissertation is of particular value in helping to gain a fuller understanding of maritime service, and especially the role of privateers. His work addresses problems such as the legal authorisation of privateering and its political, economic and organisational aspects. He also looks into issues concerning privateer crews (e.g. the relations between skippers and seamen) and discusses everyday life aboard privateer vessels. Other topics examined in his work include ship types and their armaments as well as naval tactics (a useful appendix of sources is also provided; it features, for example, a 1472 list of armaments of the Hamburg ship *Grote Marie*).

The most recent contribution touching on the subject of the title caravel is probably Jürgen Sarnowsky's 2006 article about contacts between Hanseatic towns and France during the late medieval period.⁶³ In it he mentions the caravel *S. Pierre de La Rochelle* and the dispute with the king of France in which she became embroiled in 1462(!?). Without going into detail, the author refers to the dispute between Gdańsk and Louis XI (in 1466 and 1469) and about Gdańsk's decision to overhaul the caravel in view of the Anglo-Hanseatic war.⁶⁴

The ship is also mentioned in other historiographical contexts, be they works on medieval commerce,⁶⁵ discussions about ship types (a list of relevant titles is given below), or descriptions of the circumstances in which Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* triptych was captured (mostly in art-historical texts; an overview of the literature relating to this event is presented in Chapter 3). It should

62 Kammler, *Up Eventur*, pp. 135–36.

63 Jürgen Sarnowsky "Die politische Beziehungen der Hansestädte zu Frankreich im späteren Mittelalter", in: *Les Relations*, pp. 113–48.

64 Ibidem, pp. 124–25, n. 51–52, wherein, based on published sources only broadly referred to, mention is made of Marot Boeff and Pierre Quisinot (more of whom in Chapter 1), and of the conflict and exchange of correspondence between Gdańsk, Bruges and Louis XI. Notably, Sarnowsky also mentions the letters written by the first of the ship's Gdańsk captains, Berndt Pawest.

65 Arthur Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, Heidelberg 1904, p. 93; Heinrich Sieveking, *Die Handlungsbücher der Medici*, Sitzungsbericht d. K. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna 1905, p. 52; Raymond de Roover, *Money, banking and credit in mediaeval Bruges. Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changeers. A Study in the Origins of Banking*, Cambridge 1948, pp. 22–23; Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270–1600*, Southampton 1951, pp. 67, 211; John D. Fudge, *Cargoes, embargoes and emissaries. The commercial and political interaction of England and the German Hanse*, Toronto 1995, p. 15. Mentions also appear in general overviews of the Middle Ages, such as Robert Delort, *La Vita quotidiana nel medioevo (translated from the French: La vie Au Moyen Âge*, 1972 French edition), Rome 2002 (based on the 1989 Italian edition), p. 207.

also be noted that much has been written about the story of *Peter von Danzig* in works of popular history, though none of it has added anything new to the subject.⁶⁶

2 Caravel or Carrack?

For the most part, the relevant literature concerning medieval ship types identifies the title vessel of this work as a caravel. The issue is, however, somewhat complicated by the fact that historians have so far failed to agree on what exactly is meant by the term “caravel”.⁶⁷ Broadly speaking, depending on the particular researcher, a ship will be classified as a caravel based on her rigging and sails, or her planking, or her skeleton construction, or her size. From this statement alone it is obvious that given such diverse criteria it is difficult to establish anything even close to a clear-cut picture. These differences among researchers reflect the equally diverse treatment of the subject in historical sources. As R.C. Anderson has pointed out, during the medieval period when someone from southern Europe referred to a vessel as a caravel they had in mind her rigging, while in northern Europe they would have been thinking of her planking. In the mid-15th century the word “caravel” denoted a small ship with a specific type of rigging in the south, and a large ship with flush-laid planking in the north.⁶⁸ The sail plan for a caravel consisted of a small square sail set on the foremast and lateen sails on the others.⁶⁹

66 German publications are discussed by Peter Oliver Loew in *Gdańsk między mitami*, Olsztyn 2006, p. 74; and more recently Idem, *Danzig. Biographie einer Stadt*, München 2011, p. 78. For a consideration of Polish works see, for example, Jerzy Pertek, *Od wielkiej karaweli do 19-tysięczników*, Gdynia 1963, pp. 10–18; Dyskant, *Zatoka Świeża*, pp. 53, 135; Eugeniusz Kaczorowski, *Pogrom krzyżackiej armady*, Warsaw 2003, p. 61.

67 See the entry for “caravel” in Aak to Zumbra. *A dictionary of the world's watercraft*, *The Mariners' Museum*, 2000, pp. 119–20. Interesting points about terminology relating to ship types (and their iconography) in the Middle Ages have been made by Susan Rose (“Gaps in our knowledge of medieval shipping”, *The Mariner's Mirror* 97/1, 2011, pp. 63–76) and Ian Friel (“Ignorant of Nautical Matters”, *ibid.*, pp. 77–96), though, unfortunately, no mention is made of caravels.

68 R.C. Anderson, “Carvel or caravel”, *The Mariner's Mirror* 18, 1932, p. 189: “When a Southerner called a vessel a “caravela” (or caravel) he referred primarily to her rig; when the Northerner spoke of a “karveel” (or carvel) he meant a vessel with the newly introduced type of planking. [...] In the middle of the fifteenth century the one was a southern word for a small vessel with a particular rig and the other a northern word for a comparatively large vessel with flush planking”.

69 Przemysław Smolarek, *Dawne żaglowce*, Gdynia 1963, p. 52.

It is worth drawing on the literature to clarify that a ship was built by fixing planks to the frame timbers of the hull. Two methods of planking were used: clinker (or lapstrake) and carvel. In the clinker technique the edges of the planks overlapped and were fastened together in a similar fashion to that in which roof tiles are laid. This construction method produced a very stiff hull, but was not suitable for building large vessels of several hundred lasts. Larger ships were built using the carvel technique, in which the planks were laid flush, their edges meeting, thus producing a hull with a smooth surface.⁷⁰

In consequence, some authors when referring to caravels define them as vessels with edge-to-edge or flush-laid planking. For example, Dorothy Burwash (1969) contended that a particularly characteristic feature of late medieval types of caravel (in northern Europe) was that their planking was laid edge to edge as opposed to being clinker-built.⁷¹

In the clinker technique, hull construction began by assembling the planking and then fixing it to the keel, stem and stern post. Only once the outer shell had been built were the frames inserted into it⁷² (shell-first construction). In contrast, carvel construction was a frame-first method, meaning that the skeleton of the hull was built first and then covered with planking.⁷³ According to Ian Friel (1995) the term “carvelle”, or indeed “carvel construction”, when applied to vessels built in northern France in the 1450s, probably denoted the skeleton-building technique rather than the type of ship.⁷⁴

In terms of size, a distinction is made in the literature between large and small caravels. It is generally considered that small caravels had a cargo capacity (tonnage) of 30 to 120 tons, while that of large caravels exceeded 200 tons.⁷⁵

70 Zbigniew Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł okrętowy od XVII do początku XIX wieku*, Gdańsk 1963, pp. 83–84. Therein the author claims that flush-laid planking had already been known in antiquity in the Mediterranean and was “transplanted” to northern Europe in the 15th century. See also Ian Friel, *The good ship: ships, shipbuilding and technology in England 1200–1520*, London 1995, pp. 70–71, for a very good explanation of lapstrake/clinker planking and flush-laid/carvel planking.

71 Dorothy Burwash, *English merchant shipping 1460–1540*, London 1969, pp. 128–29.

72 Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł okrętowy*, p. 83.

73 Gillian Hutchinson, *Medieval ships and shipping*, London 1994, p. 44. According to Hutchinson, in the 15th century the term “carvel” referred to skeleton-built ships.

74 Friel, *The good ship*, p. 177.

75 Bernhard Hagedorn, *Die Entwicklung der wichtigsten Schiffstypen bis ins 19. JH*, Berlin 1914, pp. 56–63, wherein mention is made of small caravels of 30–130 tons, though there is no clarification regarding what constituted a “large caravel”. See also Marian Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Gdańsk 1953, p. 54, wherein the author relates that in 1461 Gdańsk captured a caravel belonging to the Teutonic Knights, which they in turn had received from the Dutch. This, however, was a ship with a smaller tonnage than later caravels. Jacques Bernard, *Navires et Gens de mer à Bordeaux*

The building of ships referred to as caravels in northern Europe is a controversial issue in historiography. The view expressed in the literature is that the first caravels were built in southern Europe, probably by Portuguese⁷⁶ or possibly Breton shipwrights.⁷⁷ It was the latter who, according to Bernhard Hagedorn (1914), supposedly built the first “large caravels” for the Dutch in the mid-15th century.⁷⁸ Gillian Hutchinson (1994) claims that master shipbuilders from the south (nationality not specified) had already begun making caravels in northern Europe in the 1430s. Between 1463 and 1466 three-masted caravels were built in England for Sir John Howard in Dunwich, in the county of Suffolk. Hutchinson believes that carvel construction was adopted in northern Europe because it was more suitable for building very large ships.⁷⁹

The broadest exploration regarding the spread of the carvel tradition has been made by Jacques Paviot (1995).⁸⁰ Reiterating the fact that this type of construction originated in Portugal, he stated that it was thanks to Joao Afonso, a native of that country, that caravels were first built in Flanders and Brabant in the late 1430s, during the reign of Phillip the Good, duke of Burgundy. As an example he cited the fact that a large caravel had been in the duke’s service in the Mediterranean Sea in 1441.⁸¹ In England, caravels had appeared between 1443 and 1450 in Fowey, according to Paviot. In later years a ship referred to as a “new kervelle” (the spellings “karvyll” and “carvelle” also appear in the source) was built (again by Portuguese shipwrights) for Sir John Howard (of Dunwich). This vessel was a three-master which had a large mast (i.e. mainmast), a “mat de misaine” (mizzenmast) at the back and a foremast at the front, and was equipped

(*vers 1400 – vers 1550*), t. I, Paris 1968, pp. 359–61. Bernard writes about the caravel but omits any structural details, focusing instead on her size (tonnage). He states that shipbuilding in the 1490s encompassed small vessels of around 20–30 tons, larger ones of around 50, 100 and 150 tons, as well as large vessels of up to 200 tons. He notes that at roughly the same time that large vessels such as *Pierre de la Rochelle*, later of Gdańsk (Danzig), had sailed the seas (in 1462) so had much smaller ones such as *La Marie* of Bordeaux – a 30-ton “petite carvelle”.

76 Hutchinson, op. cit., pp. 44–45; see also *The Evolution of the sailing ship 1250–1580* (Keynote studies from *The Mariner’s Mirror*) ed. Basil Greenhill, London 1995, p. 253.

77 Hagedorn, op. cit., pp. 56–63.

78 Ibidem, pp. 56–63. Based on 17th-century chronicles, Hagedorn asserts that in 1459 the Breton Julian built a caravel in Holland, while another shipwright (possibly also a Breton) built a ship of this type in 1460 in Hoorn.

79 Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 44; see also p. 159 for more about the construction of very large ships in England.

80 Jacques Paviot, “La diffusion de la caravelle en Europe, xve – début xvi^e siècle”, in: *Dans le sillage de Colomb. L’Europe du Ponant et la découverte du Nouveau Monde (1450–1650)*, ed. Jean-Pierre Sanchez, Rennes 1995, pp. 145–50.

81 Ibidem, p. 145.

with a bonnet,⁸² hence an additional piece of canvas that could be attached to the foot of a sail. Paviot also referred to examples of French caravels of the period, mentioning *Pierre de la Rochelle* among them.⁸³ Based on unspecified 16th-century sources, he concluded that the first caravels made for the Dutch had been built by the Breton Julien as early as 1459 (regardless of whether the sources were of 16th- or 17th-century date, Paviot's opinions are similar to those of Hagedorn, though he probably did not know the latter's work).⁸⁴

The observations made by Andreas Kammler in his earlier cited monograph⁸⁵ are important in tracing the history of caravels in the Hanseatic world. Kammler addressed the subject of medieval ship types,⁸⁶ claiming, among other things, that the ships launched by Hamburg against England in 1470 had been carvel-built, hence their planking had been laid flush in keeping with the modern construction technique of the day. These ships were referred to as "Kraweele". Kammler also claimed that they had first been built in northern Europe, in Hoorn in 1460.⁸⁷ However, he noted that the problem of what exactly a caravel looked like had not yet been resolved.⁸⁸

As mentioned earlier, Jacques Paviot asserted that Fowey was the place where caravels had been built in England. Kammler (2006) recalled this when looking at the details of a contract for ship's carpenters made out by the city council of Lübeck on 11 November 1477.⁸⁹ Analysing this contract, he pointed out that the scribe who had drawn it up had written the word "Fawiker" where the ship's name (not yet known at that time) should have been entered. He explained that this was the Middle Saxon term for the English word "Foweyer", which in essence signified a ship of the "Krawell" construction type. Kammler contended that this type of ship had in fact been developed in Fowey.⁹⁰ He asserted that "Ein Fawiker" was a three-masted ship "mit Rahsegel, einem

82 Ibidem, p. 146.

83 Ibidem, p. 146.

84 Ibidem, p. 147.

85 Kammler, *Up Eventur*.

86 Ibidem, pp. 66–67, table listing city ships of Hamburg, 1469–1473 and 1492–1496, among them caravels.

87 Ibidem, p. 132. Kammler cites the same source as Hagedorn, namely an early-modern chronicle: Velius, *Chronik van Hoorn* 1617, p. 42. He refers to examples of caravels of this type dating from 1462 from Gdańsk and Königsberg.

88 Ibidem, p. 134, n. 542, featuring the observation that "Das Poopdeck ist das Deck ober halb der sogenannten 'Hütte', des achteren Aufbaus", as well as remarks about adaptations in northern Europe.

89 Andreas Kammler, "'...umme dat kraveel...' – Schiffbau in Lübeck 1477: gewidmet Prof. em. Dr. Harald Witthöft zum 75. Geburtstag", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 86, 2006, p. 12.

90 Ibidem, p. 15.

achteren Oberdeck und – nach dem Wortlaut der Quelle – einem kraweelbeplankten Rumpf” (i.e. with carvel planking).⁹¹ A ship of this kind was reportedly fast, easily manoeuvrable, suitable for oceangoing voyages and could take a crew of around 250.⁹² Her performance was apparently similar to that of the great caravel (“Grote Kraweel”) from Gdańsk,⁹³ by which the author meant *Pierre de la Rochelle*.

As has already been established, most historians studying ship typology have stated that *Pierre de la Rochelle* was a caravel. This was also the opinion voiced by Bernhard Hagedorn⁹⁴ and Walther Vogel (1915), the latter claiming that large three-masters referred to as caravels had been built in western France and Brittany in the mid-15th century, and that one of them had been *Pierre de la Rochelle*.⁹⁵ Frederic Chapin Lane (1934) repeated Vogel’s assertion that *Pierre de la Rochelle* had been a caravel, adding that she had been one of the largest ships ever seen in northern and southern Europe until around 1485.⁹⁶ This view was shared by Marian Biskup (1953).⁹⁷

Some scholars have been more cautious in deciding what type of ship *Pierre de la Rochelle* represented. Przemysław Smolarek (1962) identified her as a caravel of the carrack type (supporting this inference by referring to a copperplate by an anonymous Flemish artist of the later 15th century),⁹⁸ a view that was subsequently echoed by Zbigniew Binerowski and Stanisław Gierszewski (1972).⁹⁹ They did not, however, expand on this idea; it can only be assumed that they were thinking of both the ship’s flush-laid (carvel) planking and her size. In the absence of any further explanation, later Polish authors with only a peripheral interest in this subject, and without conducting any independent research into it, distinctly oversimplified matters by declaring that the vessel

91 Ibidem, p. 15.

92 Ibidem, p. 15.

93 Ibidem, p. 15, n. 13, wherein there is an excerpt from a letter by Berndt Pawest dated 6 March 1472: “also queme wy an 6 schepe, Fabewyker, de jagede wy, mer konden sze nich halten, sze weren uns tho Verdich”: HR, II/6, no. 538.

94 Hagedorn, op. cit., pp. 56–63, including a brief history of the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle*, listing the armaments and rigging with which the ship was provided (based on her hypothecation bond, published in HU, 9, no. 95).

95 Vogel, op. cit., p. 475. Vogel also writes about Spanish and Portuguese caravels; he does not deal more widely with the story of *Pierre de la Rochelle*. His book expands on many of the issues I refer to in my work (e.g. the speed of medieval shipping and the role of wind power).

96 Frederic Chapin Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance*, Baltimore 1934, p. 42 and n. 26.

97 Biskup, op. cit., p. 54, n. 2, wherein the author states that the ship was subsequently rebuilt as the *Groote Kraweel*.

98 Smolarek, op. cit., p. 53.

99 Binerowski and Gierszewski, op. cit., pp. 130 and 140.

in question had been a carrack.¹⁰⁰ For his part, Ian Friel, who stated in 1990 that *Pierre de la Rochelle* had been a caravel, was by 1995, speculating that this 600-ton ship was more likely to have been a skeleton-built carrack rather than a caravel. However, Friel also failed to pursue this line of reasoning.¹⁰¹

It is worth clarifying at this point what type of vessel a carrack was meant to be. As with the caravel there is no universally accepted definition. The carrack is described as a ship with a deeper but less streamlined hull than a caravel, which was also less manoeuvrable. Another distinctive feature of the carrack (lacking in the caravel) was a long, tall forecastle.¹⁰² The term itself derived from the Latin “carraque”. It is thought that carracks were already being built in Spain by the mid 14th century. The carrack could carry 2000 tons and take 2000 people on board¹⁰³ and is believed to have been the largest ship of the late medieval period. All southern-European carracks are thought to have been carvel-built, while those made by the Flemish and English (and probably also by other northern Europeans) were of clinker construction (at least from the early 15th century onwards).¹⁰⁴

The entire debate surrounding *Pierre de la Rochelle*/*Peter von Danzig* was most aptly summed up by Kammler. He pointed out that in sources of the day this vessel was only ever referred to as “dat grote Craffell”; therefore in using this name the ship’s contemporaries classified her as a caravel.¹⁰⁵ His inferences are supported by the compilation of source information presented below (Table 1), but for the time being let us focus on a slightly different issue. Kammler’s idea essentially boils down to one conclusion: historians should be in no doubt that *Pierre de la Rochelle*/*Peter von Danzig*’s contemporaries regarded her as a caravel, regardless of the technique that had been used in her construction.

100 See, for example, Paner, op. cit., p. 170; Eugeniusz Kaczorowski, *Dzieje okrętu od starożytności do współczesności*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 86–87.

101 Ian Friel, *The documentary evidence for maritime technology in later medieval England and Wales*, London 1990 (unpublished typescript, microfilm, British Library, London); see also Idem, *The good ship*, p. 178. No fresh knowledge on this topic is provided in the otherwise interesting work of Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare 1000–1500*, London 2002, wherein information relating to the 15th century is mostly restricted to remarks about carracks: pp. 71, 86, 89, 128 and 235. For details of the carrack-like “karvielscheep” built in Holland in 1460 see also Jerzy Litwin and Richard W. Unger, “Medieval Vessels”, in: *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Maritime History*, 4, Oxford 2007, pp. 170–71.

102 Smolarek, op. cit., p. 49 ff.

103 Helmut Pemsel, *Weltgeschichte der Seefahrt*, Bd. 1, Vienna 2000, pp. 78–79 and 81; see also Aak to Zumbra. A Dictionary, p. 121, entry for “carrack”.

104 Frank Howard, *Sailing ships of war 1400–1869*, Greenwich 1979, pp. 15–16.

105 Kammler also made the following statement: “doch war die Karweelplankung nur ein Charakteristikum, über das weitere Aussehen liegen nur wenige gesicherte Erkenntnisse vor” (*Up Eventur*, p. 136).

Kammler himself conjectured that the difficulty in establishing exactly what type of ship the terms caravel and carrack referred to may have stemmed from attempts made in Brittany to improve the design of Mediterranean carracks.¹⁰⁶ He also, quite rightly, emphasised that even Lienau's reconstruction did little to improve on the vague ideas about what *Peter von Danzig* may have looked like, and so could not be decisive in determining what type of ship she represented.

Thus, it must be reiterated that the vessel which appeared in Gdańsk in the summer of 1462 was referred to by people of the period as a ship, a caravel or great caravel. The word "caravel" was adopted in German from Dutch in the 15th century, with a variety of spellings being used: karnelen, caravelen, grabel, Kraffele, gravel, Ravel, Caranelle, kreveil and Carvelle.¹⁰⁷

A separate issue concerns the opinions expressed in the literature about what impact the appearance in Gdańsk's port of the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* may have had on the way that ships were built in the city's shipyards. Heinrich Winter (1961) highlighted the fact that three-masted vessels of carvel (i.e. frame-first) construction had already been noted in the North Sea and the Baltic before *Pierre de la Rochelle's* arrival in Gdańsk. He regarded this type of ship as a terminal version of the cog in Hanseatic Europe.¹⁰⁸ He also deliberated on what effect the carvel and carrack construction methods had had on Hanseatic shipbuilding, concluding that the design of three-masters had been developed independently in different locations.¹⁰⁹ This conclusion is significant, given that Maria Bogucka (1962), who could not have been aware of Winter's work, introduced an entirely different idea on this matter into the Polish literature. Based on Lienau's findings, she asserted that it was *Pierre de la Rochelle's* presence in Gdańsk that had led to developments in the local shipbuilding industry and to the construction of carvel-built ships in the 1470s.¹¹⁰ Binerowski endorsed this view shortly afterwards (despite being familiar with Winter's work), arguing that Gdańsk's shipwrights had learnt this new construction technique while overhauling the French vessel and subsequently put their freshly acquired skills to use in 1475 and 1488, when building two new ships with carvel (flush-laid) planking.¹¹¹ In a later work (1972), co-authored with Gierszewski, Binerowski turned once again to the topic of how the presence

106 Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 136.

107 Pemsel, *Weltgeschichte der Seefahrt*, pp. 78–79 and 81.

108 Heinrich Winter, *Das Hanseschiff im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert (Die letzte Hanseskogge)*, Rostock 1961, p. 7; this opinion appears to have been shared by Binerowski (*Rocznik Gdański*, 25, 1966, p. 351).

109 Winter, *Das Hanseschiff*, pp. 5–6; cf. pp. 20–21.

110 Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 46–47.

111 Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł okrętowy*, p. 84.

TABLE 1 Terms by which the ship is referred to in historical sources

Source	Term	Year
Statement by Pierre Bizart ^a /+	Caravel	17 October 1463
Peter of Nantes' hypothecation bond ^b	Crofeel Peter van Rosseel	19 May 1464
Statement by Aymar Beff and Peter Quisnot (in Low Saxon) ^c	Schepes genat Sanctus Petrus de Rupella	10 August 1464
As above	Schipps adir kafel	As above
Letter from Gdańsk Main Town Council (MTC) to Louis XI of France ^d	Navem "caravela sancti Petri de Rupella"	17 September 1464
Notary statement ^e	Navis caravele Sancti Petri de Rupella	16 September 1464; see also Council statement of 19 September
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to Louis XI ^f	Navem caravela Sancti Petri do Rupella nominate	23 April 1466
Letter from Louis XI to the aldermen of the Bruges Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> ^g	Navis nostre vulgariter dicta carvelle de Ruppella	5 July 1466
Articles of complaint from France to Bruges ^h	Grote schip van Rossele	14 July 1466
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> ⁱ	Ex parte Caravele	25 August 1466

a HU, 9, no. 127, n. 1.

b AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B. 3 (former ref. no. 2 a); cf. calendar of HU, 9, no. 95.

c HU, 9, no. 122.

d HU, 9, no. 127.

e AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B. 5 (former ref. no. 3 a and b).

f AP Gdańsk, 300/27, 6, pp. 575–79; cf. calendar of HU, 9, no. 262

g HU, 9, no. 294.

h HU, 9, no. 296.

i AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 600–02, calendar of HU, 9, no. 313.

Source	Term	Year
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to Lübeck ^j	Wegen des caraveles des konigs van Franckey	25 August 1466
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to Louis XI ^k	Navus Caravele Sancti Petri de rupella vulgariter nuncupatur	10 November 1466
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to Lübeck ^l	Caravels	29 April 1468
Letter from Gdańsk MTC to Louis XI ^m	Karavelle	6 February 1469
Hanseatic commission ruling ⁿ	Caravele	16 February 1470
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^o	Im Ravela	20 October 1471
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^p	Im carveel	15 November 1471
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^q	Im craveel	24 November 1471
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^r	gude schipp	20 December 1471
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^s	Im carveel	1 January 1472
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^t	Im groten carveel	2 January 1472
Letter from Heinrich van Borssele, Lord of Veere ^u	grotem carvele	22 February 1472

j AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 602–03, calendar of HU, 9, no. 314.

k AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 615–16, calendar of HU, 9, no. 330.

l AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 667–68, calendar of HU, 9, no. 449.

m AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, k. 689; calendar of HU, 9, no. 552.

n AP Gdańsk, 300 D/ 17B. 10 (former ref. no. 17 B.8).

o HR, II/6, no. 529.

p HR, II/6, nos. 530 and 531.

q HR, II/6, no. 532.

r HR, II/6, no. 534.

s HR, II/6, no. 536.

t HR, II/6, no. 537.

u HR, II/6, no. 522.

TABLE 1 Terms by which the ship is referred to in historical sources (cont.)

Source	Term	Year
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^v	Im groten carveel, Peter genant, der stadt von Danczk	12 March 1472
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^w	Im groten carveel, Peter genenat, der stadt van Danczk	14 March 1472
Letter from the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> ^x	Karawel	15 March 1472
Letter from Lübeck and Hamburg to Gdańsk ^y	Karwel	11 April 1472
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^z	Im carveel	30 May 1472
Letter from Hans Breske to Lübeck ^{aa}	Kraffele	2 June 1472
Letter from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk ^{ab}	Im carveel	23 VII 1472
Statement by Paul Beneke ^{ac, ad}	Groten Caravels	1475

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

v HR, II/6, no. 540.

w HR, II/6, no. 541.

x HR, II/6, no. 523 (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 98).

y HR, II/6, no. 524.

z HR, II/6, no. 549.

aa HR, II/6, no. 560.

ab HR, II/6, no. 558.

ac AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 196, k. 216v.

ad Paulsen (*Schiffahrt, Hanse und*, pp. 211 and 212) also believes that the ship at the centre of my research was referred to by her contemporaries as a caravel: see table on p. 212, listing some of the sources relevant to the caravel, the second one erroneously citing the year 1462 instead of 1464.

of the French ship in Gdańsk had influenced the development of local shipbuilding.¹¹² Richard W. Unger (1980) repeated this opinion about the effect that *Pierre de la Rochelle* had had on Gdańsk's shipbuilding industry,

¹¹² Binerowski and Gierszewski, "Rzemieślnicza produkcja drewnianych żaglowców", pp. 130 and 140.

mentioning the vessel (which he referred to as *Peter of La Rochelle*) in the context of caravels built by the French and the Dutch.¹¹³ However, these are only speculations made without any broader analysis of the available source materials. Thus, this problem still awaits an in-depth study.

3 Further Reading

In writing about the caravel it is important to outline the political backdrop against which her story is set. It is equally important to provide at least a summary sketch of those members of the ruling elite whose actions either directly or indirectly had an impact on the history of this ship. This section will focus on the most relevant texts in this regard, which are listed below as further reading.

A pivotal event in the late 15th-century history of the Hanse, which also significantly affected the fortunes of the caravel, was the Anglo-Hanseatic war. The fundamental work on this subject is Stuart Jenks' monograph on commercial and political relations between the two sides.¹¹⁴ John H. Munro's article is also of interest, given that the cloth trade lay at the heart of this conflict.¹¹⁵ Bruges was a key player in Anglo-Hanseatic relations, both as a political and economic centre as well as the seat of a Hanseatic *Kontor*, and there is a large body of literature devoted to it.¹¹⁶

113 Richard. W. Unger, *The ship in the medieval Economy 600–1600*, London 1980, p. 220.

114 Stuart Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie 1377–1474, II: Diplomatie*, Vienna 1992; see also, for example, Terence H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse 1157–1611. A study of their trade and commercial diplomacy*, Cambridge 1991 – the war is addressed on pp. 205–14, and the reports in Berndt Pawest's letters even get a mention on p. 208 (though Lloyd refers to him as "Pawes"). This historian's research was based principally on documents collated in the HU and HR. An important earlier work is that by Walther Stein: *Die Hanse und England. Ein hansisch-englischer Seekrieg im 15. Jahrhundert*, Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins, Blatt 1, 1905.

115 John H. Munro, "Hanseatic Commerce in Textiles from the Low Countries and England during the Later Middle Ages: Changing Trends in Textiles, Markets, Prices, and Values 1290–1570", in: *Studien zu Handel, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa. Festschrift für Stuart Jenks zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Marie-Luise Heckmann and Jens Röhrkasten, Nova Mediaevalia. Quellen und Studien zum europäischen Mittelalter, 4, Göttingen 2008, pp. 97–181.

116 Eugen Remus, "Die Hanse und das Kontor zu Brügge am Ende des xv. Jahrhunderts", *ZWG*, 30, 1892, pp. 1–51. More recently see Piotr Oliński, "Przedstawiciele kupiectwa toruńskiego w Brugii w latach 1360–1390", *ZH*, 66, 2001, z. 1, pp. 7–21, wherein there is a list of the literature concerning this *Kontor*. See also Volker Henn, "Eine unbeachtete Brügger Kontorordnungen

I have endeavoured to give a brief portrayal of those individuals, other than the obvious ones such as Berndt Pawest and Paul Beneke, who were in some way connected with the ship. Citizens of Gdańsk who held positions of authority can be identified thanks to Joachim Zdrenka's indispensable two-volume biographical compendium.¹¹⁷ An important figure in the Hanseatic world at that time (and also during one of the key moments of Paul Beneke's exploits) was Heinrich Murmester, mayor of Hamburg from 1467 to 1482. His life is the subject of a study by Hans Nirnheim (1908) and a more recent work by Gerhard Theuerkauf.¹¹⁸ The mayor's stance during the 1473 Anglo-Hanseatic negotiations in Utrecht proved to be of particular consequence.¹¹⁹

King Louis XI also played a significant role through his communications with Gdańsk regarding the fate of the caravel. In discussing the king's contacts with the Hanse in his biography of Louis XI, Pierre-Roger Gaussin mentions the dispute surrounding the ship *Saint-Pierre* of La Rochelle, as well as her seizure by the Hanse and her maritime service as *La Grande Caravelle*. He does not, however, go beyond widely known facts.¹²⁰ In a more recent biography of

aus dem 15. Jahrhundert", in: *Von Nowgorod bis London*, pp. 31–32, notes. Important background information for my research came from a collection of articles mostly concentrating on Bruges: *Hansekaufleute in Brügge*, eds. Jorn Nils, Werner Paravicini, Horst Wernicke, 4: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Brügge April 1996, Frankfurt 2000. For a similar subject tackled from the perspective of Dutch, Belgian and German historiography, see also *Koggen, Kooplieden en Kantoren. De Hanze, een praktisch netwerk*, eds. Hanno Brand and Egge Knol, Hilversum 2010 (including an interesting article by Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz: "De Kantoren van Hanze: Bergen, Brugge, Londen en Nowgorod", pp. 91–107). On the subject of donations and also merchants in Bruges, including Italians (among them Tommaso Portinari), see Renée Rößner, *Hansische Memoria in Flandern – Alltagsleben und Totengedenken der Osterlinge in Brügge und Antwerpen (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, (Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 15: Hansekaufleute in Brügge, Teil 5), Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 250, n. 1.

117 Joachim Zdrenka, *Urządnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, 1–11, Gdańsk 2008 (this is an extended version of the original edition: Idem, *Rats- und Gerichtspatriziat der Rechten Stadt Danzig*, 1–2, 1342–1792, Hamburg 1989–1991); Idem, *Rats- und Gerichtspatriziat der Altstadt 1377–1792, und Jungstadt (1387–1454/55) Danzig*, Hamburg 1991.

118 Hans Nirnheim, *Heinrich Murmester. Ein hamburgischer Bürgermeister in der hansischen Blütezeit*, Leipzig 1908; Gerhard Theuerkauf, "Heinrich Murmester und Hermann Langenbeck, Bürgermeister von Hamburg (1467–1517)", in: *Akteure und Gegner der Hanse-Zur Prosopographie der Hansezeit*, Hansische Studien, ix, eds. Detlef Kettinger and Horst Wernicke, Weimar 1998, pp. 173–81.

119 Theuerkauf, op. cit., p. 173.

120 Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *Louis XI un roi entre deux mondes*, Paris 1976, p. 217.

Louis XI, Jean Favier also includes a reference to the story of the caravel.¹²¹ He recounts the arrival in Gdańsk in 1462 of a ship from La Rochelle named *Saint-Pierre*, referred to as “the great caravel” (“la Grande Cravelle”), and tells of her being damaged by lightning and then abandoned in Gdańsk awaiting repair. He goes on to state that a dispute subsequently ensued between Gdańsk and the king of France over the issue of debts relating to the ship, Gdańsk calling on the solidarity of the Hanseatic League for support.¹²²

Other individuals key to understanding the political situation of the day include King Edward IV of England,¹²³ and in particular Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The latter is a significant figure because of his frequent contacts with the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*; he also played a vital role in the conflict between Tommaso Portinari and the Hanse.¹²⁴ Tommaso Portinari,

121 Jean Favier, *Louis XI*, Fayard 2001, p. 619.

122 Ibidem, p. 619.

123 I have relied largely on the classic biography by Charles Ross (*Edward IV*, London 1997) for background information.

124 For a major biography of the duke see Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold. The last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, Woodbridge 2002 (2004 reprint), with a foreword and bibliographical supplement by Werner Paravicini. On politics at the time of Charles the Bold see Petra Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich. Spätmittelalterliche Außenpolitik Am Beispiel der Regierung Karls des Kühnen (1465–1477)*, Munich 2002; Petra Ehm-Schnocks, “Handelspartner, Reichsfeind, Städtefeind: Karl der Kühne und die Hanse 1465–1477”, in *Les Relations*, pp. 149–76; Richard J. Walsh, *Charles the Bold and Italy (1467–1477). Politics and Personnel*, Liverpool 2005. Key information about the functioning of the Burgundian state (territorially linked provinces, with Flanders and Holland foremost among them) can be found in Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, Pennsylvania 1999. For a better understanding of how power was exercised in Flanders see Jan Dumolyn, *Staatsvorming en vorstelijke ambtenaren in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1419–1477)*, Antwerp/Apeldoorn 2003. Mario Damen, *De staat van dienst. De geestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)*, Hilversum 2000 is useful for identifying individuals associated with Charles the Bold, as is the more recent Arie van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland. Macht, rijkdom en status in een laatmiddeleeuwse samenleving*, Hilversum 2010. Also worthy of mention is the website: <http://www.prosopographia-burgundica.org/index.php?action=bibliotheque> (accessed 2018), where works concerning the Burgundian court can be found: Prosopographia Burgundica (with sources edited by Paravicini). Very few works have been written in Polish about the history of the duchy of Burgundy; the one exception in recent years is a monograph by the art historian Antoni Ziemba (*Sztuka Burgundii i Niderlandów 1380–1500, I: Sztuka dworu burgundzkiego oraz miast niderlandzkich*, Warsaw 2008) also next two volumes, which includes observations about political events, though the focus is primarily on art and the culture of the Burgundian court. Valuable insights into the times of Charles the Bold can be found in the exhibition catalogue: *Karl der Kühne (1433–1477). Kunst, Krieg und Hofkultur*, eds. Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck, Historische Museum Bern,

a merchant from Florence, featured prominently in the story of the caravel during the final phase of her career (under the command of Paul Beneke), having been responsible for sending out the galley which Beneke captured in the spring of 1473. In a 1901 article about the 15th-century alum trade, Goswin von der Ropp¹²⁵ made mention of the Portinari family and of the raid carried out by Paul Beneke aboard *Peter von Danzig*, and also briefly about the repercussions of this event.¹²⁶ Otto Meltzing wrote more extensively about Tommaso Portinari, devoting most attention to the episode involving the galley seized by Paul Beneke and the resultant conflict with the Hanse.¹²⁷ Significant advances in research into this Florentine merchant came with the monographs and articles by Raymond de Roover.¹²⁸ Marc Boone's article also made an important contribution to what we know of Tommaso Portinari and his work as an agent of the Medici.¹²⁹

A suggestion for further reading pertaining to shipping rather than politics is Thomas Wolf's monograph on the deadweight, cargo capacity and mass of Hanseatic ships (based on sources from Reval).¹³⁰ Although it does not directly concern the title caravel, it does offer a very good introduction to ship-related issues within the Hanseatic area (commercial matters such as the concept of lasts, cargo capacity, etc.). It is also an excellent entry point into the complex subject of weights and measures (including volumes) in medieval trade.¹³¹

An aspect of this subject which cannot be overlooked is maritime law. The Hanseatic world adopted the same maritime law that was used in the Netherlands and France. Known as the Law of Damme, it was based on the *Rolls of*

Bruggemuseum and Groeningemuseum, Brügge 2008–2009. For a study of commercial contacts between Lübeck and Holland (specifically at the Bergen *Kontor*) see Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, *Traders, Ties and Tensions, The interaction of Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders in Late Medieval Bergen*, Hilversum 2008.

125 Goswin von der Ropp, "Zur Geschichte des Alunhandel im 15. Jahrhundert", *HGB* 28, 1900, pp. 119–36.

126 For further references to this work see Chapter 3 and Epilogue herein.

127 Meltzing, op. cit., pp. 101–23.

128 R. de Roover, *Money, banking and credit*; and in particular: Idem, *The rise and decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494*, Cambridge 1963 (reprint). On the economy of Florence, including the late medieval period, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore 2009, wherein comments about Tommaso Portinari: pp. 232 and 240–41.

129 Marc Boone, *Apologie d'un banquier médiéval: Tommaso Portinari et l'État bourguignon*, Le Moyen Âge, 105, 1991, pp. 31–54.

130 Thomas Wolf, *Tragfähigkeiten, Ladungen und Maße im Schiffsverkehr der Hanse*, Köln 1986.

131 Ibidem, pp. 30–60 (including Prussia and Gdańsk).

Oléron.¹³² Another notable study is Albrecht Sauer's monograph on medieval navigation, which covers the Baltic and North Sea regions.¹³³

4 Sources

Archival and library searches together with a review of published sources revealed that the greatest quantity of primary source information about the title ship is to be found among the holdings of the Gdańsk State Archive (*Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku*). The foremost of these sources is series 300 D – an extensive collection of letters which is much underrated in Polish historiography. It encompasses a wealth of material pertaining to the history of the Hanse, and in particular its contacts with Gdańsk. Although a large proportion of the Hanse-related material was published in the later 19th century in two major multi-volume book series (HU and HR), only some texts were printed *in extenso*, most appearing in calendar form or merely as mentions in footnotes. I have re-examined the full texts of surviving original sources, which has brought the added benefit of my being able to introduce their contemporary reference numbers into the literature (those cited by the publishers of the HU and HR have changed since 1945). I have tried to encompass all of series 300 D in my research, and in particular gleaned a considerable amount of new information from letters recorded under 300 D/13 to 300 D/21. Significant discoveries came, for example, from examining the full texts of letters filed under sub-series 17 B, referred to in Gdańsk's contemporary archive inventory as medieval correspondence with France. Part of this collection consists of letters written by the ship's French captain Aymar (Marcus) Beoff, as well as notary records of interviews with citizens of Gdańsk and France (covering the years 1464–1473).¹³⁴ It includes an invaluable and virtually unknown (barring a brief mention in

¹³² For more about these maritime laws from the western French island of Oléron see Theodor Kiesselbach, "Der Ursprung der rôles d'Oléron und des Seerecht von Damme", *HGB* 12, 1906, pp. 1–60 (and edition of text); see also the more recent comparative study of maritime laws from Oléron and the Book of the Consulate of the Sea: Julia Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann in den Rôles d'Oléron und im Livre del Consolat de Mar. Ein Vergleich zweier mittelalterlicher Seerechtsquellen, Rechtshistorische Reihe* 331, Frankfurt am Main 2007.

¹³³ Albrecht Sauer, *Das Seebuch, Das älteste erhaltene Seehandbuch und die spätmittelalterliche Navigation in Nordwesteuropa*, Hamburg 1996.

¹³⁴ The relevant ref. nos. are as follows: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/13, no. 151 (12 March 1473), 300 D/14 (negative search result), 300 D/15, and 300 D/16, issues concerning England during the

a footnote of the HU) account of expenditure drawn up by the Breton Pierre de Nantes and his adversaries, written on five folio sheets. The information recorded in this little-known source (more of which in Chapter 1) has yielded a wealth of detail about the history of the caravel left stranded in the port of Gdańsk after having been damaged in 1462.

A full list of the letters in this collection filed under sub-series 17 B, which are of particular value to this study, is presented in Table 2, which gives both the 19th-century reference numbers of these documents (cited in earlier editions of published source materials) and states which parts of these letters (if any) have been published or referred to in calendar form.

I have endeavoured to examine all possible sections of correspondence in series 300 D, as many of the letters' authors had an interest, be it direct or indirect, in the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle*/*Peter von Danzig*. Most of the new information (or that previously known only in calendar form) came from those sections pertaining to letters from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the local authorities under his rule (such as the Four Members of Flanders and the Great Council at Mechelen)¹³⁵ and from Dutch towns. Letters from the lords of Veere were also noteworthy,¹³⁶ while those from Lübeck to Gdańsk proved exceptionally significant, often providing information about issues discussed at Hanseatic assemblies and problems directly concerning the case of the caravel.¹³⁷

Special attention is given to letters catalogued under 300 D/75, which were sent by various of the ship's Gdańsk commanders to their home city, and include those written by councillor Berndt Pawest. They have been published twice: once as excerpts in an appendix to the 1855 edition of Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, and subsequently, almost in their entirety, in the HR series

period under discussion: 104–05; 16, no. 107 – HU, 9, no. 173; 108, 110, 113. 300 D/17 B, nos. 3–7; 10–12, 14, 17 a and 18.

¹³⁵ Outlines of all these authorities are provided in later chapters herein.

¹³⁶ Sections 19–21 are generally significant. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 149 (lord of Veere); 300 D/19, no. 152, 30 May 1473 (**published**), 300 D/19, 152 (written by Lord van der Veer), 12 June 1473; 300 D/19 154 a 16 September 1473; 300 D/19, no. 159 (**published**); 300 D/19, no. 19, no. 160, 1 May 1474; 300 D/19, no. 161 Amsterdam, 5 May 1474; 300 D/19, no. 165, 15 December 1474; 300 D/19, no. 166, December 1474. Indirectly relevant letters: 167, 170 and 175; 300 D/19, no. 174, 1 May 1475; 300 D/19 no. 176, 18 June 1475; 19, 177, 19 August 1475; 19/178, 25 August 1475; 19/179, 28 August 1475. **300 D/21, no. 98, 15 March 1472.**

¹³⁷ AP Gdańsk **300 D/29, correspondence with Lübeck; 300 D/171–219, letters from Lübeck to Gdańsk dating from 1454–1472; 300 D/29 nos. 220–260 (1473–1476);** 300 D/29, no. 231, Lübeck – concerning Berndt Pawest, Tideman Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof – 4 August 1473; 300 D/29, no. 232, 12 August 1473; **300 D/29, no. 234, 27 August 1473;** 300 D/29, no. 243 = Calendar no. 136, but with a different date (not 7 but 27 February 1474) though, in contrast to the calendar, mention is also made therein of the galley; 300 D/29, no. 252, 11 August 1475.

TABLE 2 List of letters and documents in series 300 D/17 B

Contemporary ref. no.	19th-century ref. no.	Citation in HU, 9
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 3</i> Includes hypothecation bond Also includes statement made by the French on 10 August 1464 in Gdańsk	300 U/17 B, no. 2	Printed in part: no. 95, pp. 46–47 Printed: no. 122
<i>AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 4</i> Statement made by the French on 20 August 1464	300 U/17 B, no. 2a	Extensive calendar: no. 123
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7</i> Bill drawn up by Pierre de Nantes, 11 September 1464	300 U/17 B, no. 5	Mentioned only: p. 73
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5</i> Agreement of 16 September 1464 made on the open sea (settlement), two copies, one notarised in July 1466	300 U/17 B, no. 3 a & b	Excerpt discussed and quoted: p. 72
<i>AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 6</i> Testimony of 16 November 1464	300 U/17 B, no. 4	Briefly discussed: pp. 72–73
<i>AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 14</i> August or September 1464 Testimony of Pierre de Nantes	300 U/17 B, no. 12	Mentioned only: pp. 73–74
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 10</i> Witness interviews re. caravel, 6 October 1466	300 U/17 B, no. 8	No calendar
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 11</i> 8 October 1466 Vidimus of 1464 council ruling	300 U/17 B, no. 9	No calendar
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 12</i> Issue of possible scrapping of caravel, 16 February 1470	300 U/17 B, no. 10	Calendar: no. 703

TABLE 2 List of letters and documents in series 300 D/17 B (*cont.*)

Contemporary ref. no.	19th-century ref. no.	Citation in HU, 9
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 13</i>	300 U/17 B, no. 11	
Articles and points of French complaints		Published: no. 296
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 17a</i>	300 U/17 B, 18 ?	
Letter from Aymar Beuf to Gdańsk, 12 June 1474		No calendar
<i>AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 18</i>	300 U/17 B, no. 16	
Letter from Gilbert de Combis, deputy admiral to Odet d'Aydie, to Gdańsk re. caravel, 25 August 1475		No calendar

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

(the latter being fundamental to this study – see Table 3). Nonetheless, it was important to see the original letters that these editions had been based on (e.g. to compare the hands in which they had been written).¹³⁸

Berndt Pawest’s letters were written on a relatively regular basis, as indicated by a cursory look at dates and stopovers (see Chapter 2). These letters offer a unique opportunity to chart the caravel’s history, from the moment she left the port of Gdańsk in August 1471 (by then having been renamed *Peter von Danzig*) to the point when Gdańsk city councillor Berndt Pawest stepped down as her commander and was replaced by Paul Beneke in August 1472. Other narratives, such as entries in Caspar Weinrich’s chronicle and the Lübeck Chronicle, letters from Hanseatic towns (of which there are few) and excerpts from the minutes of Hanseatic meetings, merely supplement the comprehensive, and at times painstakingly detailed, reports of the Gdańsk councilman and captain. As Philippe Dollinger observed (albeit without citing a source), in the 15th century Hanseatic captains were required to keep a written log on long voyages to provide information for their partners.¹³⁹ Among known Hanseatic sources, it is the content of Pawest’s letters which suggests that a journal of this type

138 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/75, no. 265a = HR, II/6, no. 557, wherein Berndt Pawest apologises for the hand in which the letter is written, explaining that he did not have his scrivener with him: “Ick hebbe Johanse up dat mal nycht by my, so leset desse scryfft na dem synne” and further: “gi scrvet my nycht wat dat ment wet ik nycht”.

139 Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy XII–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1997, p. 143; cf. Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann*, pp. 37–39 (“Der Schreiber und das Schiffsbuch”).

TABLE 3 List of letters written by Berndt Pawest concerning the caravel

Contemporary archive ref. no.	19th-century ref. no.	Entry no. in HR, II/6	Published in <i>Beilage</i> II of the 1855 edition of Caspar Wein- reich's chronicle
300 D/75, nr 225a	75/484	No. 529	No. 1
300 D/75, no. 226	75/485	No. 530	–
300 D/75, no. 227	75/486	No. 531	No. 2 (extensive excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 228	75/487	No. 532	No. 3 (extensive excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 229b	75/487	No. 532	No. 4 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 230	75/488	No. 533	No. 5
300 D/75, no. 231	75/489	No. 534	No. 6 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 232	75/490	No. 534	No. 7 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 256	75/511	No. 535	–
300 D/75, no. 233	75/491	No. 536	No. 8 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 234	75/492	No. 537	No. 9
300 D/75, no. 237	75/495	No. 538	No. 10
300 D/75, no. 238	75/496	No. 539 (exten- sive calendar)	No. 11 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 239	75/497	No. 540	No. 12
300 D/75, no. 240a	75/498	No. 541	No. 13 (extensive excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 240b	75, 498	No. 539 ^a	–
300 D/75, no. 242a	75/500	No. 543	No. 14 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 242b	75/500	No. 542	No. 15 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 243	75/501	No. 544	–
300 D/75, no. 244	75/502	No. 545	–
300 D/75, no. 245	75/502, b	No. 547	–
300 D/75, no. 246	75/502, 3	No. 545	–
300 D/75, no. 247	75/ 502 e	No. 545	–
300 D/75, no. 248a	75/503	No. 547	–
300 D/75, no. 248b	75/503	No. 547	–
300 D/75, no. 249	75/504	No. 551	–
300 D/75, no. 251a	75/506	No. 548	–

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

a 6–8 March 1472.

TABLE 3 List of letters written by Berndt Pawest concerning the caravel (*cont.*)

Contemporary archive ref. no.	19th-century ref. no.	Entry no. in HR, II/6	Published in <i>Beilage</i> II of the 1855 edition of Caspar Wein- reich's chronicle
300 D/75, no. 251b	75/506	No. 548	–
300 D/75, no. 252	75/507	No. 549	–
300 D/75, no. 253	75/508	No. 550	–
300 D/75, no. 254a	75/509	No. 552	No. 16 (extensive excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 255a	75/510	No. 553	No. 17
300 D/75, no. 257	75/512	No. 553	Nos. 18–19 (excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 258	75/513	No. 554	Nos. 18, 19 (excerpts)
300 D/75, no. 259	75/514	No. 554	No. 20
300 D/75, no. 260	75/515	No. 555	No. 21 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 261	75/516	No. 556	No. 22 (excerpt)
300 D/75, no. 265a	75/519	No. 557	No. 23
300 D/75, no. 265b	75/519	No. 557	–
300 D/75, no. 267	75/521	No. 558	No. 24
300 D/75, no. 267a		No. 559	No. 25

may have been kept, all the more so given that one of the crew was a scrivener. A meticulously detailed letter of 6 March 1472, giving an extensive account of nine weeks' service in the North Sea, appears to provide further evidence that such a log was maintained.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, it seems that Pawest felt compelled to submit these dispatches,¹⁴¹ and it is as well to remember that even after he had stepped down as captain of the caravel he continued to file comprehensive accounts of his diplomatic mission at the peace talks in Utrecht.

In any event, Berndt Pawest's written reports provide information not only about the story of the caravel, but also about her crew, the purchasing of victuals and equipment, his personal fears and the weather.¹⁴² In many instances

¹⁴⁰ HR, II/6, no. 538.

¹⁴¹ By way of comparison it is worth looking at the letters written to the city council by the Gdańsk diplomat and mayor Heinrich Vorrath (d. 1443): see Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 355–56, wherein sources are cited.

¹⁴² For an example of dispatches from a warship in the Mediterranean see the diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi: Michael E. Mallett, *The Florentine galleys in the fifteenth century*, Oxford 1967, p. 209 ff.

he relates both current developments regarding the ship (in his concern for her safety and upkeep) as well as those that had taken place in between successive letters. As a rule, his narratives are not chronological, mixing present and past events, and even future ones (plans) with digressions and details added to previously submitted reports. In Chapter 2 they will be used to try and define the sequence of causes and effects that shaped the caravel's fortunes under Berndt Pawest. Therefore, there will be no discussion of the content of individual letters, though they will feature prominently in the footnotes of that chapter. However, in order to familiarise the reader with the information they convey and show how effective (if at all) the communication between sender and recipient was, I present a compilation of relevant data in Table 4.

The letters share the following common attributes: they are always addressed to the Gdańsk city council, they include the date and location, information about the vessel's condition, her crew, the weather, current events (e.g. visits made, news of English plans, and accounts of the ship's naval service, i.e. her involvement in action at sea). Of course, there is no formulaic structure to the various components of this information (other than details such as the addressee, sender and date). What is more, they are just as likely to appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of any given letter (or even in a post-script). Thus, these sources do not conform to the classic rules of letter-writing and are not an example of refined epistolary art; they are, however, a vibrant and impassioned testimony of Pawest's service aboard the caravel.

It must be borne in mind that in presupposing effective communication between sender and recipient, we are assuming that at least some of Berndt Pawest's letters were answered by Gdańsk (though at times he complains of having received no reply). On a point of accuracy, it should be clarified that most of the letters in question were dictated by Pawest, but actually written down by his scrivener, Johann.¹⁴³

The survey at the Gdańsk State Archive was extended to encompass other sources. Many new facts, including ones relating to the caravel's early days in Gdańsk, came to light in a tome known as the *Manuale*, concerning the work of the city council.¹⁴⁴ In keeping with Gdańsk's municipal law, all maritime issues, including disputes involving shipowners, skippers and crews, were resolved by the city council. However, it transpired that certain details relating to transactions pertaining to the caravel's equipment and to the hypothecation of ships could be found in magistrates' books covering the years 1466–1476.¹⁴⁵

143 HR, 6, p. 485, n. 2 and reference to no. 531.

144 In this particular instance the tome in question covered the years 1456–1474: AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7.

145 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 2 b (1466–1476).

TABLE 4 Information in Berndt Pawest's letters concerning the caravel, October 1471–August 1472 (in chronological order with appropriate fields marked to show whether or not a given subject was mentioned)

Date and location	Weather and port conditions	State of ship ^a	Information on political developments	Plans for the future	Crew	Desire to go home	Paul Beneke
20 Oct 1471 im cravele achter Berszhuck ^b	+	?	+	+	+	–	+
15 Nov 1471 im carveel achter Berszhuck ^c	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
15 Nov 1471 im carveel achter Berszhuck ^d	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
24 Nov 1471 im carveel tho Berszhuck ^e	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
26 Nov 1471 (written in Veere) ^f	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2 Dec 1471 thor Veere ^g	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
20 Dec 1471 tho Berszhuck (note added on 24 Dec 1471: to Berszhuke in Selant) ^h	+	+	+	–	+	–	–

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

- a Maintenance, repairs, expenses, purchases.
- b A small port off the Dutch coast, HR, 6, no. 529, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 D/75, no. 484.
- c HR, 6, no. 530, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 485.
- d HR, 6, no. 531, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 486.
- e HR, 6, no. 532, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 487.
- f HR, 6, no. 532 (annotation to a letter of 24 November).
- g HR, 6, no. 533, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 488.
- h HR, 6, no. 534 (with footnote stating that the letter was written in Johan's hand, but annotations by Berndt Pawest), also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*.

Date and location	Weather and port conditions	State of ship	Information on political developments	Plans for the future	Crew	Desire to go home	Paul Beneke
27 Dec 1471 thor Veere ⁱ	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1 Jan 1472 tho Berszhuck im carveel ^j	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2 Jan 1472 tho Berszhuck im groten carveel ^k	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
6 Mar 1472 thor Slwsz int Swen ^l	+ ^m	+	–	–	+	+	–
8 Mar 1472 Vor der Slwsz int Swen ⁿ	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
12 Mar 1472 Vor der Slwsz im groten carvel, Peter genant, der stadt van Danczk ^o	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
14 Mar 1472 Int Swen, im groten carvel. Peter genant, der Stadt van Danczk ^p	–	+	+	+	+	+	–

i HR, 6, no. 535, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 511.

j HR, 6, no. 536, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 491.

k HR, 6, no. 537, also printed in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, former ref. no. 300 U/75, no. 492.
This is one of the few letters which mentions that Berndt Pawest had received a reply from Gdańsk.

l HR, 6, no. 538. This letter reports on nine weeks' service at sea, from 6 January to 6 March 1472.

m All remarks refer to the nine-week period of service at sea.

n HR, 6, no. 539.

o HR, 6, no. 540.

p HR, 6, no. 541.

TABLE 4 information in berndt pawest's letters concerning the caravel, october 1471–august 1472 (*cont.*)

Date and location	Weather and port conditions	State of ship	Information on political developments	Plans for the future	Crew	Desire to go home	Paul Beneke
8 Apr 1472 Thor Slwsz in Vlandren ^q	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
8 Apr 1472 Thor Slwsz ^r	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
15 Apr 1472 Brugge ^s	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
28 Apr 1472 Tho Brugge ^t	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
10 May 1472 Slwsz ^u	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
21 May 1472 to Brugge ^v	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
30 May 1472 Im craveel ^w	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3 Jun 1472 thor Sluws ^x	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
12 Jun 1472 to der Sclus ^y	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
14 Jun 1472 Thor Slus ^z	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
20–26 Jun 1472 to der Sclus ^{aa}	–	+	+	+	–	–	+

q HR, 6, no. 542.
r HR, 6, no. 543: letter addressed not to the city council but to mayor Johann Veere.
s HR, 6, no. 544.
t HR, 6, no. 545.
u HR, 6, no. 547.
v HR, 6, no. 548.
w HR, 6, no. 549.
x HR, 6, no. 550.
y HR, 6, no. 551.
z HR, 6, no. 552.
aa HR, 6, no. 553.

Date and location	Weather and port conditions	State of ship	Information on political developments	Plans for the future	Crew	Desire to go home	Paul Beneke
28 Jun 1472 thor Slwsz ^{ab}	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
30 Jun 1472 thor Slusz ^{ac}	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2 Jul 1472 to Brugge ^{ad}	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
21 Jul 1472 to der Sclusz ^{ae}	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
23 Jul 1472 int Swen im carveel ^{af}	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
10 Aug 1472 thor Slusz ^{ag}	–	–	+	+	+	–	+

ab HR, 6, no. 554.

ac HR, 6, no. 555.

ad HR, 6, no. 556.

ae HR, 6, no. 557.

af HR, 6, no. 558.

ag HR, 6, no. 559.

Complementing the documents and letters of series 300 D are the correspondence registers known as the *Missiva*. Several new letters (known from medieval copies) were discovered in the 1456–1470 register.¹⁴⁶ The city's pound-toll registers also provided valuable background information about the events of the day (though nothing directly about the caravel's history).¹⁴⁷ In contrast, no evidence came to light from a survey of the magistrates' book in which debts were recorded.¹⁴⁸

Searches were also carried out in foreign archives and libraries. I will start with the survey conducted at the municipal library in La Rochelle – the town where the caravel's history began. Most of La Rochelle's archival holdings were removed to Paris in the 17th century, where they became dispersed during the

146 AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6; the subsequent register (no. 7) covers the years 1489–1508.

147 AP Gdańsk, 300/19, nos. 1 and 3.

148 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 196.

1730s.¹⁴⁹ What remains of the old archive is housed in the municipal library in La Rochelle among its special collections. The search carried out there yielded only a modest amount of material relating to the life of Aymar (Marc) Beuf.¹⁵⁰ My search at the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck provided highly significant insights into Hanseatic relations, gleaned from documents and letters (in the form of bound volumes) regarding Lübeck's contacts with other Hanseatic towns and with countries such as England, "Batavica" (i.e. present-day Holland and Belgium), France and Prussia. In addition to examining original manuscripts that have been reproduced in printed sources, I was also able to discover several previously unknown sources concerning the caravel (at the time when she was captained by Paul Beneke) and relating to contacts between England and the Hanse during the 1474 peace negotiations in Utrecht.¹⁵¹ Further information came to light at the Staatsarchiv Hamburg. Although the sources discovered there did not directly concern the caravel (the city account books from this archive's collections are the most relevant in this respect),¹⁵² they did contribute to a better understanding of the political background of the time.¹⁵³ The holdings of the city archive in Bruges (Stadsarchief Brugge) include the medieval correspondence of local burghers and municipal authorities with various associates and commercial partners (occasionally Hanseatic ones). A guide to the collections is provided by the inventories compiled by Louis

149 Kiesselbach, "Der Ursprung der roles d'Oleron und des Seerechts von Damme", *HGB*, 1906, p. 37. The information cited therein implies that the La Rochelle archives were moved to Paris in 1628, but were dispersed in 1737.

150 La Rochelle Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 50, k. 400. Mention is made of "Nobile (...) Sire Aimare Beus (Beuf) Seigner de Trenczarais Mairor" in 1489.

151 At the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck I examined the following documents: *Urkunden-Anglicana*, *Batavica* (Niederlanden und Belgien...), *Borussica* (i.e. Prussia), and *Gallica*. The most interesting proved to be the *Anglicana* – 170, 12 June 1473 (71 3); 198, 10 August 1474 – about the peace talks in Utrecht. The *Batavica*, *Borussica* and *Gallica* did not contain anything relevant to the caravel. Other items of interest included *Altes Senatsarchiv EXTERNA*, *Borussica*, 30. This is a collection of letters concerning, among other things, Gdańsk, for example: k. 545 – Lübeck to the city council of Gdańsk, 11 April 1472; k. 549 – Gdańsk city council, 27 Oct. 1474; k. 551 (23) reg. HUB, no. 444, 7 May 1475, Lübeck to Gdańsk. Letter from Lübeck to Hamburg: *Altes Senatsarchiv Externa*, *Anglicana* 34, k. 13 (reg. HR, 7, no. 32). Negative search result in Ober: *Stadtbuch* 8 b-c 1455–1480.

152 *Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, ed. Karl Koppmann, 3 (1471–1500), Hamburg 1878.

153 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 111–1 Senat Cl. v1 Nr 1 a= vol. 1, Fasc. 7, Korrespondenz mit den Hansatischen Kantoren zu Brügge und London; Cl. v1, Nr 1 a = vol. 1, Fasc. 8–10.

Gilliodts-van Severen,¹⁵⁴ which include extensive summaries of sources connected with the case of the galley and the person of Tommaso Portinari. In particular, I looked at the financial records (municipal accounts) held in this archive.¹⁵⁵ In my search for written communications with Tommaso Portinari I also examined an invaluable collection of over ten thousand letters in the Medici collection in Florence. This correspondence comprises 165 volumes of letters written either to or by the Medici between the 14th and the mid-16th century.¹⁵⁶ The volumes are ordered chronologically; however, the epistolary material is very mixed, meaning, for example, that Tommaso Portinari's letters are to be found in numerous places.¹⁵⁷ Archival research in London (at The National Archives, Kew) primarily focused on sources relating to the Hanse (e.g. complaints and customs accounts). Although this did not yield any information directly relating to the story of the caravel, it did prove very useful in gaining a fuller picture of the various aspects of the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict of the early 1470s.¹⁵⁸

The most important printed sources for tracing the history of the caravel are two multi-volume series of collated documents, namely the *Hanserecesse* and the

154 *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, Section Première, Inventaire des Chartes, par Louis Gilliodts-van Severn, 6, Bruges 1876; *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple De Bruges*, par Louis Gilliodts-van Severn, 2, Bruges 1905.

155 Stadsarchief Brugge, Stadsrekeningen 1474/1475, k. 171; cf. HR, 7, p. 448.

156 L'Archivio di Stato Firenze, Mediceo avanti il Principato (MAP). This material is currently accessible in the form of electronic (scanned) copies.

157 In 2010 these materials were accessible on-line at <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/rMap/index.html>. Searches could also be made using the summary inventories (<http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/rMap/Sommario.html>), which provide general information about individual volumes of letters. They are not ordered chronologically and nor is the index of names. For the purposes of my research I examined in particular: Filza 6, Lettere a Giovanni di Cosimo, 736; ad altri membri della famiglia Medici, a oratori, a capitani, 59; altri documenti, 3. 1431 mar. 5 – 1521 dic. 17; Filza 14: Lettere a Piero di Cosimo, 240; a Giovanni di Cosimo, a Lorenzo il Magnifico, a Piero di Lorenzo, a diversi, 288; altri documenti, 4. 1436 ago. 6 – 1494 dic. 26.; filza 17: Lettere a Lorenzo il Magnifico, 611; a Cosimo il Vecchio, a Giovanni e Piero di Cosimo, a Lucrezia Tornabuoni e a diversi, 145; altri documenti, 1. 1436 set. 1 – 1494 ott. 26., therein letters no. 1 and 30 by Tommaso Portinari (of 1473), filza 27 Lettere a Lorenzo il Magnifico, 600; ad altri membri della famiglia e a Tommaso Portinari, 7. 1470 mag. 28 – 1472 dic. 31; Filza 29, Lettere a Lorenzo il Magnifico, 1160; al fratello Giuliano, alla madre Lucrezia, ad oratori fiorentini e a diversi, 70. 1472 mar. 7 – 1474 gen. 10 (however, there was nothing about the galley in any of them). I also verified some of the reference numbers cited by de Roover and Mallett, and when citing sources I also include references to secondary works (see Chapter 3).

158 The National Archives, Kew, E/122, 97/4, scroll 1 – a list of imports and fees, wherein entries under 1465 mention two citizens of Gdańsk: Heinrich Schroder and Heinrick

Hansisches Urkundenbuch.¹⁵⁹ Valuable information was also found among the accounts of Hamburg's municipal treasury (*Kämmerei*).¹⁶⁰ New data emerged from a very interesting collection of letters and documents concerning the Adornes family of Bruges,¹⁶¹ previously almost entirely unknown in the Polish literature.

When dealing with narrative printed sources in the form of chronicles it must be remembered that none of these was recorded at the time when the events discussed herein took place. Moreover, it should also be stressed that Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, which has already been cited on multiple occasions in this work, and which is effectively regarded as the testimony of an individual who was alive during this period (thus making it the most reliable of sources), does not appear to be a chronicle at all, but rather a 16th-century compilation of various earlier texts with later annotations and additions. At present it is difficult to determine exactly which parts were interpolated. Other chronicles of the late 15th to early 16th century usually focus on only one episode of the caravel's history, namely Paul Beneke's raid on the Burgundian galleys; other historical facts about the warship are provided very selectively. Prime examples include Albrecht Krantz's *Vandalia* (written at the end of the 15th century and published posthumously in 1518)¹⁶² and the continuation of Detmar's *Lübeck Chronicle* (covering the years 1401–1483, written down in the

Neiderhof (Schroder's ship was carrying iron, ballast and planks, whilst Heinrich Niederhof's was laden with iron, planks and wainscot); Customs issues: E/122/62/7, mentioning Heinrich Schroder, Eller Bockelman and Tideman Valandt, 19 II 1468 (?); E 122/28/92, a royal ship referred to as a "carvill of Ewe", also mentioned in *The household books of John Howard, duke of Norfolk 1462–1471, 1481–1483*, introduction by Anne Crawford, London 1992, p. xxii; E/30, 1605 – very generally about Anglo-Hanseatic affairs; E/122/97/6 and 7, goods transported by Eler Bockelman (timber).

159 HR, II/6, 7; III/1–4. HU, 9 and 10; Foedora conventiones literae et cuyusunque (...) Acta Publica unter Reges Angliae, xi. Londini per J. Tonson 1727, pp. 779–82 (Hanseatic issues) and 793 the Peace of Utrecht – Berndt Pawest; *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts in relation to English Affairs... 1202–1509*, ed. Rawdon Brown, London 1964, no. 441, about an alum cargo on a Flemish galley. I also examined *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, ed. David B. Quinn with the assistance of Alwyn A. Ruddock (Publications of the Southampton Record Society. no. 37, vol. 2) 1937.

160 *Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, 3 (1471–1500), Hamburg 1878.

161 *Het Archief van de Familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemstichting te Brugge, II: Regesten van de oorkonden en brieven tot en met 1500*, by Noël Geirnaert, Bruges 1989.

162 Albert Krantz, *Die Vandalia, oder Beschreibung wendischer Geschicht in Latein vorgefertigt, Libri XIII, cap. VIII*, version from the Zielonogórska Biblioteka Cyfrowa [Digital Library of Zielona Góra], November 2010.

early 16th century).¹⁶³ In due course, subsequent chroniclers set about “enhancing” the incident involving the galleys with fabricated details. Particular mention must be made of Reimar Kock’s 1549 chronicle, which features a chapter (*Van Pawel Beneken, einem dudeschen Helde 1473*) dedicated to the raid executed by Paul Beneke.¹⁶⁴ Kock begins his account by muddling the facts, claiming that Paul Beneke captured and took to Gdańsk a large English ship named *John* during the Anglo-Hanseatic war.¹⁶⁵ It was from this vessel, and not the caravel *Peter von Danzig*, that he supposedly launched his attack on the galleys. There is no doubt that Beneke did indeed capture a ship named *John* (before he took over command of the caravel). The seizure of “Johann von Newcastle” (*John of Newcastle*) is mentioned in Caspar Weinreich’s chronicle,¹⁶⁶ but – more importantly – Beneke’s capture of a ship called *John* is confirmed in a letter written by the first commander of the great caravel, Berndt Pawest. However, Reimar Kock misinterpreted all of this, and even went so far as to embellish his description of the attack on the galleys by preceding it with a stirring speech of his own invention which he alleged Paul Beneke had addressed to his crew.¹⁶⁷ Surprisingly, this purported speech is still regarded as a fact in various modern-day popular publications.¹⁶⁸ Based on the *Vandalia* and his own investigations, the Gdańsk chronicler Reinhold Curicke presented his version of these events in the mid-17th century.¹⁶⁹ He seized on the idea of the supposed speech that

163 *Chronik des Franciscaner Lesemeister Detmar nach Urschrift und mit Ergänzungen aus Anders Chroniken*, ed. Ferdinand Heinrich Grautoff, II, Hamburg 1830, XXIII–XXIV, pp. 353–54 (version accessed via Google Books, November 2010). The issue is somewhat complicated by the fact that there is also another edition which makes up part of *Die Ratschronik, Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte Lübeck* (various descriptions: Bd. XVIII Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482, Dritte Fortsetzung der Detmar-Chronik zweiter Teil: 1466–1488), facsimile of 1911 edition (1968), which is significant in as much as this edition is accompanied by a publisher’s commentary and it is to this edition that I refer later when describing events based on sources; however, the older literature on the same subject makes use of the 1830 edition.

164 *Chronik des Franciscaner Lesemeister Detmar nach Urschrift und mit Ergänzungen aus Anders Chroniken*, pp. 701–08.

165 *Ibidem*, pp. 702–03.

166 Caspar Weinreich, p. 6.

167 *Chronik des Franciscaner Lesemeister Detmar nach Urschrift und mit Ergänzungen aus Anders Chroniken*, pp. 704–05 (“Van Pawel Beneken, einem dudeschen Helde 1473”).

168 Lienau even included it in the source appendix of his article (*Der Peter*, p. 34), speculating that initially the crew’s courage had failed them and it was only thanks to Paul Beneke’s speech that they rallied. The Polish translation of this speech (with no mention of the fact that it was fictitious) can currently be found on Internet forums (e.g. on the *Akademia Rzygaczy* web portal for amateur historians of Gdańsk).

169 Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung*, Danzig 1645 (facsimile), III, c. XVII.

Paul Beneke had made to his crew, and for some unknown reason added that Beneke had been sailing at the time on a ship named *St Thomas*, which later led to further confusion in the historiography of this event – this name being attributed to the captured galley.

The unfounded belief that early-modern and modern chronicles can add to what we know from contemporary sources also led to the creation of the myth, which persists in Polish historiography, that Paul Beneke took captive the English magnate “John of Salisbury”.¹⁷⁰ No such person existed,¹⁷¹ hence this is a non-fact which came into being by Caspar Weinreich’s amalgamating a supposedly real person with the ship *John of Newcastle*, captured by Paul Beneke. Ultimately, this means that we should be very vigilant when using 16th-century and later chronicles, retaining a healthy dose of scepticism about whether their authors could have had access to information not recorded in sources of the day.

• • •

As indicated at the outset, this monograph deals with the history of the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* alias *Peter von Danzig* from 1462 to 1475, thus from the moment she entered the port of Gdańsk to the end of her career. The text is divided into four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter traces the fortunes of the ship from her arrival in Gdańsk¹⁷² in 1462 up until 1471, when it was decided that the caravel should be overhauled and taken over by the city of Gdańsk. I look in particular at the human stories: the “little histories” of individual members of the crew, with the captain and his seconds-in-command foremost among them. The second chapter examines the caravel’s service during 1471–1472 under Berndt Pawest, whose letters to Gdańsk, as mentioned earlier, constitute a journal of sorts. This chapter highlights the social history of the caravel’s

170 Henryk Samsonowicz, “Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy”, in: *Historia Gdańska*, 11, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, p. 317; Zdrenka, “Beneke Paweł (ok. 1430–1477), żeglarz i kapier gdański”, in: *SBPN*, 1, p. 87.

171 My survey of archives and libraries in London did not reveal any relevant material.

172 By way of explanation, it should be pointed out that medieval Gdańsk was made up of the following urban areas: the Stare Miasto (Old Town), Główne Miasto (Main Town), Młode Miasto (Young Town) and a district known as Osiek. This changed as a result of the Thirteen Years’ War, when the Young Town was demolished and its residents were resettled in parts of the Main and Old Towns. A further change took place with the privileges granted during 1454–1457 by King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir IV Jagiellon), which resulted in the city’s unification.

voyages, in particular from the perspective of the warship, as represented by her commander. The third chapter trains the spotlight on Paul Beneke's attack on a Florentine galley sailing under the flag of Burgundy and the repercussions of this act, up to 1475, when the career of the Franco-Gdańsk caravel came to an end. However, given that the consequences of Beneke's feat did not reach a culmination until the 1520s, by which time all of the individuals involved in the original dispute had died, the monograph ends with a fourth chapter outlining the most pertinent source information relating to this epilogue.

This work does not aim to reconstruct the structural details of the ship. Having examined the available sources, I would even go so far as to suggest that from a historian's point of view this is impossible. Naturally, this does not mean that technical aspects have been entirely ignored. On the contrary, I have addressed this issue to the extent that the relevant sources allow. My principal aim is to present the social history of *Pierre de la Rochelle*/*Peter von Danzig*. To this end, I examine the fortunes of those who served aboard the caravel and dealt with the challenges posed by the ship, by the forces of nature and by the actions of other people. I focus on the stories of individuals, such as the Frenchman Marc Beuf, the Breton Pierre de Nantes, and the citizens of Gdańsk Berndt Pawest and Paul Beneke, as well as on the fate of the vessel's French crew and later their Hanseatic counterparts. A final remark worth making is that the story of the caravel did, of course, play out within the specific political context of Gdańsk, the Hanse and wider international relations of the day. This political context will not be addressed separately, but will be incorporated into the narrative of the caravel's history.

...

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Pierre de la Rochelle – the Fortunes of the Ship and Her Crew in Gdańsk

No information has come to light about the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle*'s beginnings in France. In the literature it is conjectured that her passage to Gdańsk in the spring of 1462 was her maiden voyage. We can surmise that a loan was taken out to pay for her construction, though all we know for certain is that she was owned by Pierre Beuf (Boeff, Buf, Beff), a merchant from La Rochelle who had trade relations with Bruges,¹ and that she sailed to Gdańsk commanded by Pierre's relative Aymar Beuf (Beoff).² The goods carried aboard the caravel belonged not only to Pierre Beuf but also to someone (possibly a merchant) of whom all we know is that his name was Danlon.³ Somebody else who may have

- 1 This emerges from a complaint lodged by French emissaries of King Louis XI on 14 July 1466 with the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges, which also reveals that Pierre Beuf had died by that time; see HU, 9, no. 296: "grote schip van Rossele, datwelke tobehoerde zeligen Peter Beuff". In his claim for compensation for the caravel, dating from 12 June 1474, Marcus (Aymar) Buf mentioned that the ship belonged to his "uncle (om) Pierre Blef", a "scheppen" (?magistrate) from Rochelle: see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 17 a. In the mid-15th century there was a burgher by the name of Pierre Buf in La Rochelle; it seems obvious that this is a reference to the same person: see Mathias Tranchant, *Le commerce maritime de La Rochelle à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rennes 2003, p. 253 (Buef), 313; see also Cartulaire, no. 942, contacts with Bruges, no. 812; on the Beuf family see Simone Abraham-Thisse, "Bretons et Hanséates à la fin du Moyen-Âge: relations politiques et diplomatiques", in: Jean Kerherve and Tanguy Daniel (eds.), 1491, *La Bretagne. Terre d'Europe*, Brest-Quimper 1992, p. 46, n. 52.
- 2 HU, 9, no. 296: "Marot Beuff, oem des vornoemen Peters Beuff ... des vornoemen Peters Beuff zijns oems". He is sometimes referred to in the German-language literature as "Marot Beuff": Otto Held, *Die Hanse und Frankreich von der Mitte des 15. Jh. bis zum Regierungstritt Karls VIII*, HGBL 18, 1912, p. 198. In the French-language sources and literature his forename is given as Aymar, but there is no consistency in the spelling of his surname. See *Histoire de La Rochelle par Amos Barbot*, ed. Denys D'Aussy, Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, XIV, 1886, where the author of a modern city chronicle (in the form of a year book), covering the years 1119–1575, made a note on p. 442 of "Syre Emeryt Bohu seigneur de Trevi-Charroy", and elucidated in a footnote concerning 26 April 1489: "Noble Homle S. Emard Buf sieur de Treuil-Charroy"; Abraham-Thisse ("Le commerce des Hanséates de la Baltique à Bour-ganeuf", in: *L'Europe et l'Océan au Moyen Âge. Contribution à l'histoire de la navigation*, Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, 17, 1986, p. 133) stated that the ship's captain was Aymar Beuf, whilst Tranchant (op. cit., p. 336) wrote of him as "Aymar Beuf, futur maire de la Rochelle, et capitaine du navire". In this monograph I refer to him as Aymar Beuf even though the names Marot, Marcus, and other variants appear in the Hanseatic sources.
- 3 Everything aboard the ship belonged to Pierre Beuf and a business partner of whom no details are known: "unde een ander genommet Danlon was oeck in datselve schip by den

owned a share of these goods was a member of the ship's crew: a Breton by the name of Pierre de Nantes, who was also involved in commercial interests in Brittany together with Aymar Beuf.⁴ According to established historiographical findings (which are not entirely accurate in terms of chronology), the ship's operator was Peter Cousinot.⁵ I will return to the subject of Cousinot further on; however, current research indicates that he cannot be linked to the caravel until 1464. Johann Molle⁶ is also mentioned in the historiography as the operator, though nothing further has been determined about him. All we know is that he set sail on a return journey to Gdańsk together with Aymar Beuf, and that he is mentioned in a notarial instrument of 20 August 1464 in the context of issues concerning the caravel.⁷ This suggests that he may have held shares in the ship along with Pierre Beuf. Previously untapped sources refer to Aymar Beuf as the "patron" of the ship,⁸ but also as a *brusijr* (or *Schiffsführer* – ship's captain/master) and merchant (*factoer*).⁹ The sequence of events involving the ship led to changes in her ownership, so at this juncture it is worth examining the terms used in source materials in reference to individuals associated with the caravel.¹⁰

vornoemden Peter Beuff gestelt, umme schip to voerne und anders nicht" (HU, 9, no. 296). Thus, in terms of the caravel's ownership the situation was very different to that seen in Hanseatic towns, where a ship could have a dozen or more shareholders: see Charlotte Brämer, *Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter*, ZWG, 61, 1922, p. 34 ff. In the Hanseatic region there was a form of partnership – the *Sendeve* – involving goods or money: a merchant handed over goods, or goods and a sum of money, to an agent, authorising the agent to sell the goods himself. This was a form of commission. The agent entrusted with the goods (in many instances a shipmaster) received a specified percentage of the net profit of the transaction. According to Henryk Samsonowicz (*Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV wieku*, Warsaw 1960, p. 38) this form of partnership was similar to the Italian *commenda*, an arrangement whereby one partner provided the capital and the other the means of transport; cf. Edmund Cieślak, *Z zagadnień historii prawa morskiego na Bałtyku i Morzu Północnym. Przerwa w żegludze morskiej w okresie później jesieni i zimy według postanowień Związku Hanzeatyckiego z XIV i XV wieku*, Przegląd Zachodni, 1/2, 1951, p. 78 ff and footnotes.

4 Pierre de Nantes mentioned his shares in the evidence he gave before Gdańsk's Main Town Council (his statement is not dated, but we can infer that it was made in 1464; for further details see below) AP Gdańsk, 300/17 B, no. 14.

5 Otto Lienau, *Das grosse Karweel der Peter von Danzig: 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegaltung* (hereafter *Der Peter*), Danzig 1943, p. 19.

6 Held, op. cit., p. 198, where he gave name Pierre instead Johann.

7 HU, 9, no. 123 (calendar only), cf. AP Gdańsk 300 D/17B, no. 4 ("Idem Marotus et Johans Molle cum quo navi i dalej ... quo facta Marotus prefatus et Johanes Molle dumiserunt dicta nave").

8 HU, 9, no. 123 (calendar only); cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D. 17 B, no. 4.

9 HU, 9, no. 296.

10 The various terms by which these individuals are referred to appear in HU, 9, no. 95 (AP Gdańsk, former ref. no. 300 U/17 B 2a, current ref. no. 300 D/17 B, no. 3, 19 May 1464); in a

TABLE 5 Terms used to refer to individuals connected with the ownership of the caravel during the years when she was officially in French hands

Individual	Date /source	Referred to as
Aymar Beuf	December 1462 ^a	patron van dem franczoszen kraueele
	19 May 1464 ^b	Patronus
	10 August 1464 ^c	Ik Marcus [meaning Aymar] Beff, patrone des schepes
	as above	Ich Peter Quisynot und Marcus [Aymar] Beff patrone
	as above	Marco patrone
	as above	Bidde wy Peter Quisynot und Marcus [Aymar] patrone van unszirs gnedigen hern konigs van Franckrike
	20 August 1464 ^d	Marotus [Aymar] Beuf
	16 September 1464 ^e	Mercrator ville nostra de Rupella
	23 April 1466 ^f	Marcus [Aymar] Boeff
	5 July 1466, HU, 9, no. 294 ^g	Mercrator ville nostre de Ruppela
Peter Quisynot	20 August 1464	Patrone
	16 September 1464	Armiger
	5 July 1466, HU, 9, no. 294 ^h	Armiger
Johann Molle	20 August 1464 ⁱ	No details given

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

a AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 51.

b HU, 9, no. 94, currently AP Gdańsk 300D/17 B, no. 3.

c HU, 9, no. 122.

d HU, 9, no. 123 (AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 2 b).

e AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

f AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 579.

g HU, 9, no. 294, letter from King Louis XI to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*.

h HU, 9, no. 294.

i AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4.

Looking at the various terms used it is obvious that the records from which they were drawn were written in two different languages: Low German and French. This collated data shows that at the point when the caravel entered the port of Gdańsk, Aymar Beuf was referred to as the ship's "patron", which in this case meant captain.

There was a notable lack of consistency in medieval maritime law regarding what was meant by the terms "patron" and "captain". In the collection of laws known as the *Book of the Consulate of the Sea*, observed throughout the Mediterranean basin, the term "patron" referred to the person in charge of a ship.¹¹ Meanwhile, in the 12th-century code of maritime law known as the *Rolls of Oléron* (the French cited the *Roles d'Oléron* in 1475 in the dispute over the title caravel),¹² and its Flemish counterpart, the *Law of Damme*, which formed the basis of the laws governing the Baltic and North Seas, the issue was not as clear-cut.¹³ The term *Schippher* (skipper) was used in these laws, and its literal translation is given in the literature as "ship master", a term which in Dutch and German medieval maritime terminology denoted the person in command of a vessel, who was either her owner or co-owner. If the owner lacked the necessary skills, he could entrust the command of his ship to an experienced navigator, whilst a co-owner who was proficient in the art of sailing could take the

letter of 10 August 1464; HU, 9, no. 122 (AP Gdańsk, formerly 300 U/17 B 2a, currently 300 D/17 B, no. 3); HU, 9, no. 123, based on AP Gdańsk, formerly 300 U/17 B 2, currently 300 D/17 B, no. 4, which is a notarial instrument citing the statement given by "Petrus Cousinot und Marotus [Aymar] Beuf aus Frankreich" that Beuf and Johann Molle had earlier been present in Gdańsk "mit Schiffe S. Petru de Ruppella". It is very clear from the notarial document that when the agreement of September 1464 was concluded French interests were represented by Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cuisnot (it goes on to mention the arrival in Gdańsk of Aymar "Boeff unacum quodam Petro Quisinoth"); HU, 9, no. 127, currently AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5, recorded on 16 September 1464, verified on 7 July 1466.

11 *Konsulat morski według wydania barcelońskiego z 1494 r.*, trans. Kazimierz Libera, Warsaw 1957, index (patron).

12 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 18.

13 There is a reference to shipmasters ("meester vsn spece") in: *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, ed. Bernard Janik, Gdańsk 1961, p. 6; see also glossary, pp. 221–22 (pilot), p. 236 (shipowner), p. 236. Cf. *Seerecht im Hanseeraum des 15 Jahrhunderts. Edition und Kommentar zum Flandrischen Copiar Nr 9*, eds. Carsten Jahnke and Antjekathrin Graßmann, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B, Band 36, Lübeck 2003. On the term "captain" see also Edmund Cieślak, *Położenie prawne marynarzy w wieku XIV i XV w świetle uchwał Związku Hanzeatyckiego*, Zapiski Tow. Naukowego w Toruniu, 16, 1950, p. 130, n. 9, where we read that the word "schiphere" denoted the captain or "master of a ship". He was the "nautical" manager of the ship, but also the plenipotentiary of the shipping company that had entrusted him with a ship.

helm himself. The word *Rehder* (alternatively *Reder* or *Reeder*) as used in this law referred to a ship's operator, hence to a person who sailed a ship that was either his own or someone else's property.¹⁴

The problem of understanding these various terms has recently been addressed in the Polish historiography by Rafał Hryszko in relation to medieval Genoa, where a distinction was made between a captain (who commanded a ship at sea) and a patron (owner/operator).¹⁵ Hryszko asserts that the captain (as well as the patron) was responsible for the ship's smooth passage, organising her navigation, bringing her to her destination, securing contracts for the carriage of goods, assembling a crew and, finally, controlling expenditure on the running of the ship, all of which was equally applicable in other maritime regions. Andreas Kammler also looked into this topic, but from a Hanseatic perspective, focusing on the meaning of the terms *Die Reeder* and *Die Schiffer*, which he examined in relation to privateer vessels. He concluded that in private ventures the *Reeder* was the owner (or co-owner) and financial backer of the ship, which he entrusted to a skipper (*Schiffer*) or commander.¹⁶ The legal status of skippers (*Schiffers*) and seamen (*Schiffsmann*), as reflected in the two most important medieval codes of admiralty law: the aforementioned *Rolls of Oléron* and the *Book of the Consulate of the Sea*, has also been investigated by Julia Schweitzer. Almost from the outset of her work, Schweitzer draws attention to the terms *mester de la nef* and *senyor de nau*, used in the sense of skipper, which she goes on to explain meant captain (*Kapitän*).¹⁷ In her summary, she observes that the *Rolls of Oléron* mention five groups of people connected with ships: owners (*Reeder*), skippers (*Schiffer*), crew (*Schiffsmannschaft*), navigators (*Lotsen*) and merchants (*Kaufleuten*). An owner did not take part in his ship's voyages, instead leaving her in the hands of a reliable skipper, who represented his interests during the journey.¹⁸ Schweitzer makes a point of highlighting that if the need arose, and given the crew's consent, a skipper was

14 *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, p. 236.

15 Rafał Hryszko, "Problem żeglugi genueńskiej we wschodniej części Morza Śródziemnego w XIV i XV wieku", in: *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea*, vol. 1, ed. Danuta Quirinis-Popławska, Kraków 2004, p. 141, n. 11, and literature therein.

16 Andreas Kammler, *Up Eventur. Untersuchungen zur Kaperschiffahrt 1471–1512, vornehmlich nach Hamburger und Lübecker Quellen*, Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte, 37, St. Katharinen 2005, pp. 74–81. See also Gregor Rohmann, *Der Kaperfahrer Johann Störtebeker aus Danzig. Beobachtungen zur Geschichte der „Vitalienbrüder“*, HGB, 125, 2007, pp. 77, 82–91.

17 Julia Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann in den Rôles d'Oléron und im Llibre del Consolat de Mar. Ein Vergleich zweier mittelalterlicher Seerechtsquellen*, *Rechtshistorische Reihe* 331, Frankfurt am Main 2007.

18 *Ibidem*, p. 181.

allowed to pledge the ship and her cargo in exchange for a loan.¹⁹ Looking at the findings drawn from both the sources and the literature, we can conclude that in this particular instance references to Aymar Beuf being the ship's patron meant that he was her captain.

We do not know anything about the crew numbers or composition aboard the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* when she sailed to Gdańsk.²⁰ All we do know is that Aymar Beuf was accompanied on that voyage by the earlier mentioned Pierre Molle, Pierre Bizart and the Breton Pierre de Nantes.²¹ In a statement made in 1464 Aymar Beuf mentioned that he had arrived in Gdańsk with merchants who were his business partners; however, we know nothing more about them. Some of the crew were no doubt Breton compatriots of Pierre de Nantes. A later record, dating from 1472, tells us that after the caravel had been overhauled in Gdańsk she sailed with a complement of 300; however, given that this was in very different circumstances, after she had been converted into a

19 Ibidem, p. 181; however, he was not allowed to sell it. See also Schweitzer's remarks about the *Book of the Consulate of the Sea* (pp. 184–85), which suggest that according to this code the master of a ship could be both her operator and captain.

20 In the absence of any details relating to the title caravel, there are several studies we can turn to for clues about the composition of crews on medieval ships. Hirsch's findings about the makeup of the crew of Arnt Bischof's ship in 1453 are particularly noteworthy. In addition to the captain there was a helmsman ("Steuermann"), a ship's carpenter, a seaman responsible for reefing the ship's sails ("Reffsteuerermann"), a chief boatswain ("Hauptbootsmann"), boatswains ("Bootsmanne"), mariners ("Schiffsmanne") and servants ("Knechte"). Hirsch also cites a document of 1433 which records the presence aboard another ship of a helmsman, a ship's carpenter, a mariner, a boatswain and a cook: Theodor Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig 1858, p. 265. Among the crew members of a 15th-century ship, Walther Vogel listed a helmsman, a cook, mariners (including a mate), a ship's carpenter and a scribe: *Geschichte der deutschen Seeschifffahrt, Bd. 1 (Von der Urzeit bis zum Ende des xv Jahrhunderts)*, Berlin 1915 (1973 reprint), pp. 439–43, 450–52. He also postulated that crew numbers were dependent on the ship's load capacity, one crew member being required for every 5 lasts. Consequently, a 200-last hulk would have been manned by 40 seamen. If we apply this formula to the caravel, which had a load capacity of 800 tons, hence 400 lasts, her crew would have numbered 80 seamen. According to Jacques Paviot (*La Politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne 1384–1482*, Lille 1995, p. 299) crew numbers aboard a French vessel of this period were dictated by a ship's tonnage (which, after all, seems logical): a 400-ton ship would have been manned by a crew of 72, and been able to take another 234 people on board. Andreas Kammler established that crew numbers on Hamburg privateer ships would have ranged from 25 mariners and 25 armed men to 58 mariners and 115 armed men (*Kaperschifffahrt in Hamburg und Lübeck 1471–1510. Ein Forschungsbericht*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, Bd. 85, 1999, pp. 27–28). The crew would have included a cook, a ship's carpenter and a barber-surgeon.

21 These individuals feature in various sources, but we do not know what their respective roles were on the ship until 1462.

warship, it is difficult to relate these figures to her original role as a merchant vessel.

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Pierre Beuf's contacts with Bruges, and hence probably also with its Hanseatic *Kontor*, may explain why *Pierre de la Rochelle* made the voyage to Gdańsk. According to a late 15th-century chronicle of the city, the ship was carrying a consignment of salt.²² It is safe to take this information at face value given established historiographical findings about the salt trade of the period. Salt was imported to Gdańsk from France, from the coast of Baie (a reference to the Bay of Biscay) near the towns of Bourgneuf and Bouin,²³ as well as from Brouage and from La Rochelle, where salt extracted from evaporation ponds on the Île de Ré was traded.²⁴ However, the exact source of the salt carried by the caravel is not known, though it is logical to assume that it would have been from La Rochelle. Shipping French salt to Gdańsk was a highly lucrative business, the difference between the price of salt in France and Prussia ranging from 2% to 500% depending on the particular year. Gdańsk was a distribution hub for salt imports serving the northern and eastern parts of the Baltic region, as well as Livonia and Sweden, where salt prices were even higher.²⁵ For example, in 1440 one last of salt from Baie cost 12 Prussian marks in France, but commanded a price of 24 marks by the time it had reached Gdańsk,²⁶ rising to as much as 30½ marks in 1458.²⁷ In 1460 a last of salt from Baie cost 15 marks in Gdańsk,

22 Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reich* (hereinafter: *Caspar Weinreich*), eds. T. Hirsch and F.A. Vossberg, Berlin 1855, pp. 1–2.

23 On the Baie salt trade see *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 8, n. 8 (Hirsch); cf. Henryk Samsonowicz, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, PH, 47, 1956, z. 2, pp. 327–28.

24 The most comprehensive, though now somewhat dated, work on the Hanseatic import of salt from Baie remains the monograph by Arthur Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, Heidelberg 1904; see also Samsonowicz, *Handel zagraniczny*, p. 328. On the subject of the salt trade in the Baie region and the related contacts with the Hanse see also Abraham-Thisse, "Les relations commerciales entre la France et les villes hanséatiques de Hambourg, Lübeck et Brême au Moyen Âge", in: *Les relations entre la France et les villes hanséatiques de Hambourg, Brême et Lübeck, Moyen Âge – XIX e siècle (Die Beziehungen zwischen Frankreich und den Hansestädten Hamburg, Bremen und Lübeck, Mittelalter – 19. Jahrhundert)*, *Diplomatie et Histoire*, 13, 2006, pp. 29–74.

25 Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy*, in: *Historia Gdańska*, 2, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, pp. 146–47.

26 Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, pp. 258–59; Samsonowicz, *Handel zagraniczny*, pp. 328–29.

27 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/71, no. 47, a letter of 6 June 1458 written by Gdańsk merchant Rythyer Mant does, however, relate that following the arrival of 25 ships carrying salt from Baie, the price fell to 20–21 marks.

but fetched 21–22 marks in Riga and as much as 78–80 marks in Königsberg.²⁸ It has been calculated that a consignment of salt shipped aboard a 70-last vessel (such as a hulk), even at the relatively low price of 10 marks per last, would have yielded a gross income of 700 marks, whilst freight costs rarely exceeded 8 marks per last.²⁹ The customs records for 1460 show that 1347 lasts of salt were imported to Gdańsk that year, 374 of which arrived aboard seven ships from France (27.8%); in 1468 salt imports amounted to 2200 lasts.³⁰ Cargoes of salt were brought over from Baie not only by French vessels but also by the Dutch,³¹ whilst those who placed orders for this commodity (in 1460) included Gdańsk citizens Johann Angermünde, Albert Brabecke and Jasper (Casper) Lange.³² Although we do not know who the salt shipped to Gdańsk by Aymar Beuf was intended for, we can assume that he had already established contacts with the city's Hanseatic merchant seamen, if for no other reason than because of the presence of ships from Gdańsk in and around La Rochelle. It is worth pointing out that of the three clients who bought French salt in 1460 – Johann Angermünde, Albert Brabecke and Jasper (Casper) Lange – the first two were members of Gdańsk's city council in 1462 (when the caravel came to grief). Perhaps then the salt cargo brought to Gdańsk aboard *Pierre de la Rochelle* was destined for clients among the merchant members of the municipal authorities.

Salt, however, was not the only cargo stowed in the caravel's hold. Sources indicate that she was also carrying meat and butter.³³ Paul Simson conjectured that on her return journey she would have been laden with timber,³⁴ which was one of the principal goods shipped from Gdańsk to various destinations

28 Marian Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Gdańsk 1953, p. 60.

29 Samsonowicz, *Handel zagraniczny*, p. 329.

30 Samsonowicz, *Handel zagraniczny*, pp. 328–29; idem, *Badania nad kapitałem*, pp. 46–47 (citing salt prices); idem, *Dynamiczny*, p. 145. On the significance of the Atlantic salt trade see also: Dick E.H. de Boer, ">Pleite< mit Salz? Betrachtungen zu einem Kampener Frachtbrief aus dem Jahre 1462", in: *Kopet uns werk by tyden*. Beiträge zur hansischen und preußischen Geschichte. Walter Stark zum 75. Geburtstag, eds. Nils Jörn, Detlef Kattinger and Horst Wernicke, Schwerin 1999, pp. 105–21.

31 This is borne out by, for example, a letter of 20 July 1462 written by Johann Fere and Marquard Knake of Gdańsk, sent from Lübeck to Gdańsk, in which they report that they met many Dutchmen in Lübeck who were trying to obtain a permit (safe-conduct) to ship salt from Baie to Gdańsk; HR, II/5, no. 264.

32 AP Gdańsk, 300/19, no. 1, k. 39v: Johann Angermünde and Albert Brabecke; k. 40: Jasper Lang and Albert Brabecke.

33 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7.

34 Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913, p. 262.

in Europe, including French ports.³⁵ Simson's theory is supported by a later account which records that the accident suffered by the caravel resulted in mercantile losses both in Poland and Ruthenia.³⁶ This suggests that the ship's arrival in Gdańsk had been expected, and that Polish and Ruthenian merchants (and members of the nobility) had already entered into contracts with Gdańsk merchants to supply goods to be taken aboard the ship.

The Gdańsk episode of *Pierre de la Rochelle's* history began in the spring of 1462, when the caravel arrived in the roads of Gdańsk, where she encountered a storm during which her mainmast (*Grossmast*) was destroyed by lightning.³⁷ Given that all later sources refer to *Pierre de la Rochelle* having been held up on the River Motława (*Mottlau*),³⁸ it is obvious that the consignment of salt she had been carrying was unloaded before she was removed from the port's roadstead. Otto Lienau believed that in favourable summer conditions the ship could have made her way to the Motława unassisted, using only her small sails, namely the mizzen and foresail.³⁹ There is, however, a record of Aymar Beuf owing 10 marks in towing costs,⁴⁰ which he probably had to pay to a harbour pilot responsible for manoeuvring the caravel whilst on tow. The pilot would possibly also have had some assistants to help him with this task.

It seems that the caravel may have been towed to a mooring site on a stretch of the Motława alongside the former Teutonic timber yard (*Cieślarnia*), on present-day Ołowianka Island. This theory is supported by the fact that the ship's captain, Aymar Beuf, rented a house near the neighbouring St John's Church,⁴¹ and later also made donations to it.⁴² Further indirect evidence comes from a statement made in 1470, asserting that the caravel moored on the Motława was obstructing the passage of other ships.⁴³ As a point of interest

35 Samsonowicz, *Dynamiczny*, p. 145.

36 This is revealed in an report of 23 April 1469 by Gdańsk delegates attending the Lübeck assembly, among them Berndt Pawest, HR, II/6, no. 185, paragraph 17.

37 Caspar Weinreich, pp. 1–2; this is also confirmed by a letter of June 1474 from Aymar Beuf to the mayor and municipal authorities of Gdańsk, stating that the mast was lost because of foul weather, AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 17a.

38 This is very clearly asserted in a notarial instrument of 16 February 1470 in the following statement: "acta sunt hec super glaciebus dicta flumenis Mottelaw deprope situm sepefate caravele", HU, 9, no. 703.

39 Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 18–19.

40 This debt was settled by Pierre de Nantes, AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 5.

41 The house in which Pierre Bizart, one of the crew and later the captain's successor lived is mentioned in AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 12. Cf. 300 D/17 B, no. 4, where there is a reference to the house in which Pierre de Nantes stayed; perhaps it was the very same house.

42 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7.

43 HU, 9, no. 703.

it is worth adding that during her stay on the Motława the caravel was not anchored, but secured by mooring ropes. Her main anchor was taken to a property belonging to the Gdańsk magistrate Claus Vlynts (Flint),⁴⁴ whilst her other five anchors ended up at Gdańsk's Lastadia shipyard.⁴⁵

It was patently obvious almost from the outset that the damage to the caravel would result in her crew having to stay in Gdańsk for longer than originally expected. In keeping with maritime law (*Roles d'Oléron*), the captain – in this case Aymar Beuf – was supposed to waste no time in making decisions so that the merchants who had entrusted him with their goods would avoid any losses.⁴⁶ Thus, Aymar Beuf had three pressing tasks to deal with: to sell the salt (and hand over part of the proceeds of its sale to his uncle's business partner/s), repair the caravel, and ensure the crew's upkeep. The salt had already been unloaded in the roads of Gdańsk and deposited in granaries⁴⁷ belonging to two local burghers, resulting in fees of 3 marks and 13 *skojecs* (German *scot*) being owed to Tideman Bock and 8 marks to Rudolf Feldstete.⁴⁸ We do not know whether the entire cargo of salt was brought to Gdańsk, and whether or not it had got wet, rendering it of substandard quality.⁴⁹

The burghers from whom storage space was rented for the salt do not appear to have been chosen at random, at least in the case of Rudolf Feldstete, who had interests in overseas trade.⁵⁰ The fact that Aymar Beuf had entered into partnerships with Gdańsk's business community is also attested by his involvement on 1 December 1462 in the transaction of a loan and credit company based in Gdańsk.⁵¹ Beuf was listed as one of several partners providing mutual loan guarantees. The company was headed by the shipmaster Symon

44 Claus Flint (born c. 1430, died 1483) was a magistrate in 1461 and became a councillor in 1464: see Joachim Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, *Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 101.

45 This is evident from the caravel's hypothecation bond of May 1464: see HU, 9, no. 95; cf. Vogel, *Geschichte*, p. 487.

46 *Konsulat morski*, wherein relevant paragraphs about the reciprocal responsibilities of patron and merchants; Chapter CVII, p. 156 touches on the necessity of selling part of the cargo to raise the money needed to make the ship seaworthy again. On this subject see also Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann*, pp. 80–104 (especially pp. 87–88).

47 This was remarked on by Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 18–19.

48 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 5.

49 Mark Kurlansky, *Dzieje soli*, Warsaw 2004.

50 On the commercial interests (including maritime trade) of Rudolf Feldstete see Samsonowicz, *Badania*, p. 109. Tideman Bock was most probably related to the councillor, diplomat and shipowner Heinrich Bock: see Joachim Zdrenka, "Bock (Bok, Bogk, Buck) Jerzy (1430–1504)", in: *SBPN*, 1, ed. Stanisław Gierszewski, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 125–26.

51 AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 51v. An example of a loan company is cited by Samsonowicz (*Badania*, p. 36, n. 106).

Lubbelow – probably the same Symon Lubbelow who later lent money to Pierre de Nantes, another member of the ship's French crew.⁵² Beuf was referred to as the patron of the French caravel, who was borrowing money together with Marten Smyt.⁵³ The fact that Aymar Beuf was part of a loan company whose members included citizens of Gdańsk suggests that they trusted the captain of the French vessel. Their trust may have stemmed from earlier commercial contracts, and was no doubt bolstered by Beuf's position as commander of a large ship currently laid up on the Motława. The caravel may have been regarded as a guarantee of solvency by the company's Gdańsk partners.

Aymar Beuf also spent the first few months of his enforced stay in Gdańsk looking into options for the overhaul of his ship. On the face of it, getting the caravel repaired should not have posed too many difficulties, particularly given that the city boasted both a ship building yard (Lastadia) and ship repair facilities at a site known as Brabank.⁵⁴ But it was not only money and materials that were needed to repair the caravel; above all a space had to be found for her at one of the yards. It seems, however, that at that particular time there was no space available. This was not only because, as per regulations written down in later centuries (and which may also have applied in the Middle Ages), priority was given to the repair of vessels belonging to local shipowners associated in a guild.⁵⁵ The principal reason was that, since 1454, Gdańsk had been embroiled in the Thirteen Years' War fighting on the side of Poland and the Prussian Confederation against the Teutonic Order. After the Polish and confederate armies had defeated the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Świecino, near Puck (17 September 1462), Gdańsk launched a sustained privateer campaign in the Baltic,⁵⁶ and on 15 September 1463 the Gdańsk fleet took part in a battle in the Vistula Lagoon. The Order's fleet numbered around 44 vessels (with around 1500 men on board), whilst the combined forces of Elbląg and Gdańsk amounted to around 25–30 vessels (*schnigge*, barges and large sailing boats).⁵⁷

52 See below.

53 AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 51v. k. 51v.

54 On the subject of Gdańsk's Lastadia shipyard see Beata Możejko, "Z dziejów floty gdańskiej w XV wieku", in: *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani*. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza, no. 11, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Malbork 2005, pp. 167–68.

55 Zbigniew Binerowski and Stanisław Gierszewski, "Rzemieślnicza produkcja drewnianych żaglowców od XIV do połowy XIX stulecia", in: *Historia budownictwa okrętowego na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim*, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1972, p. 123.

56 Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Gdańsk 1953.

57 Caspar Weinreich (p. 2) relates that the battle was fought against Teutonic forces numbering 45 vessels (boats and ships with a crew of 1300); Marian Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem krzyżackim 1454–1466*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 647–48 (where there is mention of 30 vessels); idem, *Wojny Polski z Zakonem krzyżackim 1308–1521*, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 245–46.

Thus, during 1462–1463, when Gdańsk's shipyards were busy fitting out and repairing their own vessels for ongoing warfare, it is unlikely that any of them would have given precedence to the repair of the French caravel.⁵⁸ In addition, making a new mast would have required the appropriate type of timber to be imported from Poland.⁵⁹ Preparing its own fleet for action at sea meant that Gdańsk had already been ordering far more timber than usual, so additional supplies would probably have been difficult to find and were commanding increasingly higher prices. Nevertheless, Aymar Beuf placed an order for the masts, later statements made by him (in the summer of 1464) revealing that he spent just over 300 marks on mast timber alone.⁶⁰

58 According to Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 59, the Lastadia shipyard had the capacity to build 12 ships at any one time.

59 Masts and yards were made of pine, hulls were built using oak and pine planks, whilst maple was used for oars and rudders: see Adam Kleczkowski, *Rejestr budowy galeony*, Kraków 1916, p. 101; cf. Vogel, *Geschichte*, p. 476; Kazimierz Lepszy, *Dzieje floty polskiej*, Gdańsk – Bydgoszcz – Szczecin 1947, p. 13; see also Michał Kargul, *Gospodarka leśna w województwie pomorskim w okresie nowożytnym 1565–1772*, Gdańsk 2009 (typescript of PhD thesis, BG UG), p. 25, wherein reference is made to logs as a valuable raw material in mast production – p. 27, n. 8, mentions that pine logs (30–40m) were used for masts; see also Zbigniew Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł okrętowy od XVII do początków XIX wieku*, Gdańsk 1963, p. 29 on the division of ship timbers by shape into straight timbers (beams, masts, planks, boards, spars) and curved timbers (futtocks used to make hull frames, wales made of oak or pine).

60 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7. The issue of expenses incurred for repairs to the caravel is a recurrent one; however, it is difficult to evaluate the information provided in statements of expenditure because no research has been done into the cost of building and repairing ships in late medieval Gdańsk. As a point of reference we can at best examine the expenses involved in shipbuilding in early 15th-century Gdańsk based on the accounts of Malbork's treasurers and their commissioners: see *Schuldbücher und Rechnungen der Großschäffer und Lieger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*, eds. Christina Link and Jürgen Sarnowsky, Cologne 2008, p. 43 wherein we read that in 1402 the construction of a 140-last hulk cost 600 marks. However, according to Vogel (*Geschichte*, p. 423) the construction of a 120-last hulk (in Gdańsk) already cost around 1440 marks in 1450. These findings were repeated by Lepszy (op. cit., p. 28), who added that a ship's efficiency (in terms of how many weeks per year she could spend at sea) amounted to one 24-week voyage (a soldier's pay for this period would have been 18 Prussian marks) or two voyages of 12 weeks each. Expenses for repairs, fittings, armaments and soldiers' wages would thus have come to 75% of the cost of building a ship. See Andreas Kammler, "...umme dat kraveel..." – *Schiffbau in Lübeck 1477 (gewidmet Prof. em. Dr Harald Witthöft zum 75. Geburtstag*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 86, 2006, p. 16, citing that master Bartolomeus received 320 marks for taking on a commission to build a caravel in Lübeck in 1477. Kammler also cited an example (p. 17) of the city of Hamburg spending 881 pounds (Flemish pounds groschen), 2 schillings and 2 pfennigs in 1470 on two new caravels (of medium size).

Aymar Beuf also contracted a debt to a former councillor of Gdańsk, Arndt Backer,⁶¹ though for exactly what purpose is unclear. Initially he owed a sum of 71 marks and 10 *skojecs*, and later a further 18 marks and 3 *skojecs*.⁶² We do not know whether this was a simple consumer loan, though it was more likely to have concerned shares or credit liabilities relating to the ship's repair. It is worth noting that later, in 1464, Arndt Backer was appointed to act as attorney for the city of Gdańsk in the case of the caravel (along with Johann Fere and Wilhelm Schneider, mayor and citizen of Gdańsk respectively).⁶³ At some unknown point in time Aymar Beuf also secured a loan (for an unspecified amount) from two other citizens of Gdańsk: Johann Meideburg and Martin Bock.⁶⁴ His approach was quite different from that of other Hanseatics, who were reluctant to borrow money. Even when he had cash, Aymar Beuf – and later his successors – tried to obtain credit, resulting in a clash of two conflicting attitudes.

As mentioned earlier, Pierre Bizart and Pierre de Nantes rented a house (or houses?) near St John's Church, so we can suppose that Aymar Beuf did the same. We know that he donated 3½ marks to this church for prayers to be said for the soul of one of his crew who had died in Gdańsk; he also made gifts to the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁶⁵ The issue of what ordinary crew members should do regarding accommodation was regulated by law as follows: "...should it so happen ... that a ship is damaged ... in an accident, ... if she is moored with four ropes, although [the seamen] may disembark, they [should] return at the appointed time and hour".⁶⁶ There is no reason to think that this rule did not apply to the caravel, suggesting that her crew probably lived aboard ship for the duration of their stay. This is not to say that some crew members might have left Gdańsk, taking advantage of Hanseatic ships sailing to France,⁶⁷ or securing passage aboard French ships returning to their home

61 Arndt Backer was a citizen of Gdańsk whose father was a skipper of the same name. Backer served as a city councillor during 1456–1457 and died in May 1471: Zdrenka, *Urzednicy miejscy Gdańsk w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, 11, Biogramy, Gdańsk 2008, p. 15. He was present at the hearing of 1464 (see HU, 9, no. 127, p. 72, and no. 262) and was appointed as one of the ship's administrators.

62 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B. 7, k. 5 and k. 7, where there is also mention of Johann Schouwen being owed 3 marks.

63 HU, 9, no. 127, p. 72, n. 1.

64 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

65 AP Gdańsk, 300 D, 17 B, no. 7.

66 *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, p. 92, no. 5.

67 Voyages to Baie (de Bourgneuf) – "Baiefahrten" – were organised in the early 15th century. Ships carrying grain and timber were assembled into flotillas ("Baienische") which sailed to Bruges, where they joined Hanseatic trading expeditions heading to western

ports. Source evidence, however, indicates that at least some of the caravel's crew remained in Gdańsk, several of them dying there, as evidenced by the votive gifts they made to the city's churches prior to their death.⁶⁸

One question which research has failed to answer is how issues surrounding the crew's remuneration were resolved. The law based on the *Rolls of Oléron* dictated that a crew had to be paid when the ship arrived at her unloading destination, although it also stipulated that the master (captain) could withhold payment until the vessel's return or until he had received assurances that the crew would make the return journey with him.⁶⁹ According to the *Book of the Consulate of the Sea* the patron was responsible for paying seamen their wages, but there is no mention of the amounts involved. One of the paragraphs stated that the patron was required to pay the crew at the site where he received his cargo. This rule was applied unless the mariners and the ship's patron had agreed that payment would not be made until the ship had returned to her port of departure.⁷⁰ (For details about the responsibility of providing food for the crew see Chapter 2.)

In the late spring of 1463 Aymar Beuf decided to return to France, and on 10 June he appeared before the magistrates' bench in Gdańsk and appointed Pierre Bizart his successor, leaving the caravel in his care.⁷¹ There were various

France for salt: see Marian Biskup, "Handel", in: *Historia Gdańska*, 1, p. 410. During the 1430s these expeditions were financed not only by skippers and merchants, but also by Gdańsk institutions such as the Bridgettine convent, St Mary's Church, and the Hospital of the Holy Spirit. "Baieschiffe" of around 15 ships, commanded by a designated "admiral", reached the mouth of the River Swine in Flanders and English rivers. Then, having joined up with other Hanseatic ships, they sailed to Poitou and Baie de Bourgneuf (in the early spring), and from there to the small port of Brouage: Marian Biskup, "Przeobrażenia w handlu i rzemiośle", in: *Historia Gdańska*, 1, p. 529; see also Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, p. 94; Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, Heildeberg 1904, p. 56.

68 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17, B, no. 7.

69 *Najstarszy tekst prawa morkiego w Gdańsku*, no. 19, pp. 104–05. On maritime law see also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 98, and literature therein; cf. Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann*, pp. 48–52.

70 *Konsulat morski*, p. 179; Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann*, p. 52 ff.

71 The date of 10 June 1463 is mentioned in a statement of 8 October 1466, AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 11 (formerly no. 9). The publishers of the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* series also cited information from this source: HU, 9, p. 67 (footnote). We can conclude from the aforementioned statement that it should have been recorded in the magistrates' book in June 1463; however, all of the books covering the period of the Thirteen Years' War have been lost. The fact that the publishers cited the notarial instrument evinces that this book had already gone missing by the 19th century. The excerpt quoted in the HU also states that Pierre Bizart later entrusted the ship to Pierre de Nantes on 17 October 1463; see also HU, 9, no. 296. Although no date is mentioned, this event is referred to in a letter of 23 April 1466: AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, k. 575. On the appointment of a successor see

reasons why he wanted to go back, no doubt one of them being the need to raise funds for the vessel's repair (without having to resort to a bottomry loan, which would have involved borrowing money against the ship or part of her equipment). However, it seems that family matters were most probably his main concern. News had reached Gdańsk that Pierre Beuf, a close relative of Aymar's, was gravely ill or had possibly already died.⁷² Despite making efforts to return in early June, it was not until August⁷³ that Aymar set off from Gdańsk in the company of the aforementioned Johann Molle.⁷⁴ Perhaps this delay was caused by having to wait for a ship sailing to either Bruges or France.

Before leaving Gdańsk Aymar Beuf entrusted his successor, Pierre Bizart, with money to continue the overhaul of the caravel. He left a sum of 374 marks and 10 groschen (some of which may have come from the sale of the salt and some from loans), as well as supplies including butter and meat, which Bizart and his colleague Pierre de Nantes later sold for 111½ marks. In addition, Pierre de Nantes, who was evidently helped to run the ship by Pierre Bizart from the moment of Aymar Beuf's departure, sold off iron and cables ("kabelen..., gedandem smede an yseren") constituting part of the ship's equipment. This quick sale brought in 25 marks, so in total they had a sum of 510½ marks at their disposal.⁷⁵ The butter and meat, both no doubt salted, had been brought from France aboard the caravel and had been kept there for the crew. They were sold not only because of the need for cash but also because it was probably the last chance to make any money on these perishable goods. There is no record of how much meat and butter was sold, and the sum of 111½ marks included the sale of other, unspecified, items.⁷⁶ Pierre de Nantes later admitted (c. 1464) that he also had private funds of 18 Flemish pounds groschen in

also Theodor Hirsch and Friedrich August Vossberg, "Das grosse Krawel, die Gelayde und das Bild vom jüngsten Gerichte", in: *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, Beilage 1 (hereinafter: *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1), Berlin 1855 (1973 facsimile), p. 93 ff., and list of earlier literature (see Introduction). For general information (without citation of sources) about the fact that Aymar Beuf appointed Pierre Bizart as his successor see Abraham-Thisse, *Le commerce des Hanséates*, p. 133.

72 One of the later sources states that by the time the captain of the caravel had arrived in France, his relative Pierre Beuf had already died: HU, 9, no. 296; cf. Held, op. cit. p. 198.

73 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7.

74 The fact that both of them sailed to France is attested by a notarial instrument of 20 August 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4 (calendar published in HU, 9, no. 123).

75 HU, 9, no. 122. This document states that Pierre de Nantes was given this sum by the patron, indicating that he was working in tandem with Pierre Bizart.

76 Butter prices in the first half of the 15th century ranged from 3 to 6 marks a barrel, whilst a last of meat cost 9 marks and 12 *skojecs*, see Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, p. 248.

English nobles and Rhenish florins, hence he had an additional sum of over 100 Lübeck marks.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Aymar Beuf had left his belongings in Gdańsk, which could also have been sold if the need arose, their value having been estimated at around 42 marks.⁷⁸

An extant account of income and expenditure⁷⁹ sheds some light on Pierre Bizart's actions during Aymar Beuf's absence. It shows that Bizart lived on credit in Gdańsk and that all of his accounts (more of which later) were settled at a later date by his successor, Pierre de Nantes (see also Table 7). As well as renting a house (where he died) near St John's Church, he also made various purchases. He spent over 2 marks on clothes (possibly for the winter), and owed 8 marks to a craftsman for a hat; he placed an order with a master tailor by the name of Wilmes Wiff for trousers and a dress costing 16 *skojecs* for one of his servants, as well as ordering 3 dresses for 3 members of the ship's crew. It seems that he did not pay his second servant's wages on a regular basis, as he owed him 3 marks and 53 *skojecs*. He bought food on credit: two barrels of fish, a barrel of salt⁸⁰ and mustard for a total of 3 marks and 12 *skojecs*, as well as a barrel of herring for 2 marks, sugar (from two citizens of Gdańsk) for 5 marks, and butter for 2 marks. He also ordered four barrels of beer from Hans Olden at a cost of around 16 marks. He owed 1 mark and 13 *skojecs* to a baker for bread baked over the course of a year.⁸¹ Unfortunately, not long after having taken charge of the caravel Pierre Bizart fell ill, and it is to this that we can attribute the sums spent on four barber-surgeons whom he owed a total of 5 marks.⁸²

77 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14. As reported by Philippe Dollinger (*Dzieje Hanzy XII–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1997, p. 190 and n. 14), the most widespread currencies in the Hanseatic realm, in addition to the Lübeck mark, were the Flemish pound groschen, and to a lesser extent the English pound sterling. In the early 15th century silver coin equivalents were as follows: 100 Lübeck marks = 53 Prussian marks = 64 Riga marks = 15 Flemish pounds groschen, whilst in the case of gold coins: 100 Lübeck marks = 64 English nobles = 47 Ghent nobles = 92 French crowns = 119 Rhenish guilders = 230 Guelders guilders = 100 Venetian ducats. 1 Lübeck mark = 16 schillings of 12 pfennigs each = 192 pfennigs. The Prussian mark was the equivalent (in real coins) of 60 schillings of 12 pfennigs each = 720 pfennigs; see Henryk Samsonowicz, "Stosunki monetarne w Gdańsku na przełomie XV/XVI wieku", in: *Nummus et Historia. Pieniądz Europy Średniowiecznej*, Warsaw 1985, pp. 297–302.

78 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7 and 9, statement of September 1464.

79 Account drawn up by Pierre de Nantes: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B. 7.

80 This suggests that he was either not entitled to the salt shipped aboard the caravel or – more probably – that the salt was not fit for consumption after the ship had come to grief.

81 This part of the source narrative is rather ambiguous. Given that Pierre Bizart died not long after taking over the caravel, the year's worth of bread may have been baked during the time that Pierre de Nantes was in charge.

82 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 5.

It was probably also for Bizart's benefit that, as records show, three plasters/poultices were purchased from an apothecary for the sum of 3 *skojecs*.⁸³ Despite these measures, Bizart's health did not improve and he commissioned a friar from Gdańsk's Dominican priory to write his will,⁸⁴ and paid 4 marks to the parish priest of St John's for mass to be said for his soul. He made a similar payment to another priest (3 marks and 6 *skojecs*) for mass to be celebrated for a whole year. The clergyman in question appears to have been from the Church/Hospital of St James, which was devoted to the welfare of seafarers⁸⁵ and which received 1 mark from Pierre Bizart. He also pledged a mark to the parish priest of St Bartholomew's. Detailed provisions were laid down for his funeral: 1 mark was allocated for a sack (shroud), a burial place was specified (the plot though not the actual cemetery), 25 pounds of candle wax were purchased for 4 marks and 3 *skojecs* (though perhaps not all of the wax was intended for candles around his funeral bier), 2 marks were to go to those keeping a vigil by his body, and finally 9 *skojecs* were set aside for his burial (probably a reference to payment for a gravedigger).⁸⁶ Thus the sums involved added up to 56 marks and 109 *skojecs*, and since 1 mark = 24 *skojecs*, the grand total can also be expressed as 60 marks and 13 *skojecs*.

A further two contributions made to churches in Gdańsk can be added to this total. Bizart donated 6 marks to St John's and gave 4 marks for three glass windows to be made for the Church of St Peter and St Paul.⁸⁷ Whilst the gift to St John's can be explained by the fact that Bizart lived near this church, the donation made to St Peter's and St Paul's, which stood in the immediate vicinity of the Lastadia shipyard, indicates that repair work on the caravel had probably already begun there, all the more so given that Pierre Bizart had paid 147 marks for the purchase of some of the timber beams, planks and wainscot needed for this task.⁸⁸

83 Ibidem, k. 6.

84 Ibidem, k. 6, where there is mention of Pierre Bizart leaving a bequest to the confessor who had recorded his will. On this point see Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2010, p. 34.

85 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 6. St John's Church ran a hospital for seamen: see Adam Szarszewski, *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba w Gdańsku. Zarys historyczny*, Toruń 1999; Andrzej Januszajtis, "Gildia szyprów i kościoła św. Jakuba w Gdańsku", in: *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba. 600 lat fundacji gildii szyprów w Gdańsku*, ed. Adam Sroka, Toruń 2009, pp. 8–27.

86 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 6.

87 Ibidem, k. 6.

88 Later (in the autumn of 1464) Marcus Beuf claimed that Pierre de Nantes had received 200 marks from Pierre Bizart for the purchase of these very materials. It seems that this sum included 147 marks which had already been spent, and that Pierre de Nantes actually received only 53 marks.

On 17 October 1463, in view of his failing health Pierre Bizart appointed Pierre de Nantes as his successor, as attested by a notary (“Item prenomina-tus Petrus Beszart ex post constituit in procuratorem Petrum de Nantes circa eandam caravelam omne jus facere et dimettere, ac si ipse per se facere pos-set, si eum supervivere contingeret”).⁸⁹ A later statement made by Pierre de Nantes before the Main Town Council of Gdańsk reveals that eleven weeks after Aymar Beuf had left Gdańsk, de Nantes convened a meeting aboard the caravel,⁹⁰ which probably coincided with his replacing Pierre Bizart as the ship’s commander. Using all of the chronological clues, hence August 1463 (when Aymar Beuf was still giving out orders), 17 October 1463 (Pierre Bizart’s notarial document) and the information about the eleven weeks, we can con-clude that Pierre de Nantes took charge of the caravel shortly after 17 October 1463. Judging from the further course of events, it appears that it was de Nantes who made the most concerted efforts to get the ship repaired.

The aforementioned meeting aboard the caravel no doubt related to this repair work. Pierre de Nantes held talks at that time with Johann Hildebrandt von dem Walde, mayor of Gdańsk, who was a well-known timber merchant.⁹¹ Being knowledgeable about this market he no doubt advised the Breton where best to order the necessary materials and who from. As a result of this meeting, and possibly making use of Johann Hildebrandt von dem Walde’s contacts, Pierre de Nantes most probably gave instructions in the autumn of 1463 for 46 “masts” (originally for 11, and subsequently for a further 35 – this most likely being a reference to spars),⁹² as well as planks and wainscot to be bought in Toruń, initially allocating a sum of 71 marks for these purchases. To oversee this order for timber he even sent “Old” Andreas to Toruń.⁹³ This

89 HU, 9, p. 67. Earlier literature also reports that command of the ship was handed over: see Introduction.

90 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

91 Samsonowicz, *Badania*, p. 93. The city council of Gdańsk rewarded him for his war contri-butions (loans) during the Thirteen Years’ War by giving him four *lanei* of land in Pruszcz and a manor house: see Beata Możejko and Błażej Śliwiński, “W czasach średniowiecza”, in: *Historia Pruszcza Gdańskiego do 1989 roku*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Pruszcz Gdański 2008, p. 67.

92 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14, cf. no. 7, k. 7, wherein mention is made of 46 masts. The cited statements refer in turn to 10, 11 and 44–46 masts, presumably meaning spars. On the subject of taking masts made for export down the Vistula on rafts see Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł*, p. 29 (based on Caspar Weinreich, p. 20).

93 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7. The fact that he was sent to Toruń is not surprising given that timber from Poland was floated downriver to this town. Subsequent timber transac-tions (including those involving Gdańsk merchants) were recorded in the town’s magis-trates’ book: *Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia (1456–1479)*, eds. Krzysztof Kopiński and Janusz Tandeci, Toruń 2007, no. 148 (1458); 271 (planks purchased by Andris Preusze

reflected the standard practice of the day, which involved hiring a specialist who knew what to look for when selecting suitable pieces of timber to go the point of sale (be it a timber yard or even a particular forest) in the role of an expert buyer.⁹⁴ Ultimately, Pierre de Nantes spent 175 marks on mast construction, which we can assume encompassed materials, labour and transport.⁹⁵ As the materials were brought successively to Gdańsk they were probably warehoused at Lastadia, where work was undertaken on the replacement mast and ropemakers were tasked with producing new cordage.⁹⁶ By May 1464 the new mast being built at Lastadia was almost ready.⁹⁷

Afterwards there were accusations that Pierre de Nantes had sold the masts or pledged them as collateral to pay off other debts, a subject I will return to later. Whatever the truth of the matter, Pierre de Nantes did indeed settle existing debts by running up new ones. In order to pay off the liabilities of both Aymar Beuf and Pierre Bizart he borrowed 80 marks from the Gdańsk citizen Hans Olden and 80 marks from the previously mentioned Symon Lubbelow,⁹⁸

of Gdańsk, 20 June 1460); no. 340 (Michael Buchale of Pułtusk acknowledged that he owed 4000 planks to Gdańsk citizens Niclas Wintefelde and Enoch Stargart, 14 December 1461), no. 414; no. 418 (including a contract for supplying planks to Gdańsk, 29 September 1463); no. 443 (29 September 1462); 469 (18 September 1463); 517 (8 June 1464).

94 Binerowski and Gierszewski, op. cit., p. 128.

95 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

96 This can be deduced from the caravel's hypothecation bond, HU, 9, no. 95. Gdańsk's mast makers worked at a site known as the Mast Field (Polish *Pole Masztowe* or *Masztownia*, German *Manstenfeld*), which was part of the Lastadia shipyard: see Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 56; Binerowski and Gierszewski, op. cit. pp. 112, 121.

97 The mast is mentioned in the caravel's hypothecation bond: HU, 9, no. 95.

98 It is worth noting that at about this time the Gdańsk city council leased the right to run an insurance company to Symon Lubbelow (together with Jakub Songericht of Gdańsk) in exchange for nine per cent of the company's turnover. Further to this, the council kept a ledger in 1464 to record the *Stockgeld*, the sum of money used to insure the ship and goods of merchants who came to Gdańsk. They paid the city treasury an amount corresponding to ten per cent of the compensation they would receive should they encounter some misfortune. Arriving merchants signed a document known as a *Kurzenbrief* or *Kurzpapier*, which served as the basis for setting the amount of insurance (*Stockgeld*). As pointed out by Samsonowicz, this insurance was designed to provide cover in the event of the ship or her cargo being damaged or stolen, or if a citizen of Gdańsk failed to pay off a debt. Samsonowicz calculated that in 1464 a total of 75 people were insured, their payments totalling around 903 marks. See AP Gdańsk, 300/19, no. 72; Samsonowicz, "Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy", in: *Historia Gdańska*, 2, pp. 165–66; idem, "Bankowość i banki w dziejach Gdańska. Początki", in: *Bankierzy i banki w dziejach Gdańska*, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk no year of publication, pp. 12–13 (several transactions enumerated therein). Samsonowicz conjectured that the city council's insurance scheme may have had some connection to the Thirteen Years' War. Perhaps there are grounds to tentatively suggest

thus 160 marks in total.⁹⁹ The fact that Pierre de Nantes borrowed 160 marks leads us to wonder whether there was nothing left of the money he had been given by Aymar Beuf. The extant sources do not provide an answer to this question, though they do confirm that taking out another loan allowed him to retain liquidity.

The financial statements filed by Pierre de Nantes in the autumn of 1464 show that he disbursed virtually all of this newly borrowed money, spending 159 marks of it. He used 89 marks to pay off councillor Arndt Backer, and settled Aymar Beuf's dues for the rental of premises and for the services of a harbour pilot; he made payments to various ecclesiastical institutions and settled bills for clothing and orders placed by Pierre Bizart. In addition, he also paid 9 marks, rent for a house (the one next to St John's Church), leaving him with 3 marks still to pay (the borrowed sum having fallen short of covering all his expenses).¹⁰⁰

The repairs to the ship, the orders placed for mast timber, the outlay on his own and his crew's upkeep and the need to settle outstanding debts (owed to Hans Olden and Symon Lubbelow in Gdańsk) eventually forced Pierre de Nantes to take rather more radical action. He had all the more reason to do so given that the timber he had ordered was due to arrive any day and he had to cover the cost of its transport and pay for ongoing work on the mast. Disregarding instructions from France, in May 1464 Pierre de Nantes took a decision that would have a major impact on the fate of the caravel: he borrowed money using the ship and her equipment as collateral; in other words, he took out a bottomry loan. The lenders were two citizens of Gdańsk: Rudolf Feldstete and Jaspas Langen.

This loan, which was soon to prove decisive in determining the caravel's future, requires further comment, starting with an examination of how such loans were regarded in Hanseatic and French maritime law. This again is not an issue which is clear-cut in the literature, hence the following overview of opinions put forward by various scholars. Theodor Hirsch claimed that under Hanseatic regulations the captain of a ship had no authority to take out a bottomry loan,¹⁰¹ though he conceded that there were precedents for this type of loan being secured, in particular by Gdańsk, which was prone to flout these regulations. Ernst Daenell, however, believed that a distinction had to be

that the introduction of this scheme may also have been linked to the fate that befell the French caravel, which acted as a warning to smaller vessels.

99 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 5.

100 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B no. 7, k. 5, cf. k. 12.

101 See Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, p. 267.

made between an emergency bottomry loan, concluded in order to continue a voyage that had been interrupted for some reason, and a speculative bottomry loan contracted so that a voyage could be undertaken. The first type of loan was permitted by law and was taken out despite entailing high rates of interest (20, 25, 33½ per cent).¹⁰² Charlotte Brämer¹⁰³ cited guidelines set out for envoys from Prussia to the Hanseatic assembly of February 1440, which openly state that, as with many other provisions of the Hanseatic statutes, the ban on bottomry loans should be ignored. She also pointed out that Gdańsk's set of by-laws (*Danziger Willkür*) did not include any directives regarding bottomry loans. Furthermore, Brämer highlighted entries in Gdańsk's magistrates' books, which show that no charges were brought against skippers who took out loans secured on foreign ships. They were not indicted for taking bottomry money as long as the transactions were not made for unscrupulous, speculative reasons.¹⁰⁴

According to Edmund Cieślak there was no mention of this type of loan in the French *Rôles d'Oléron*.¹⁰⁵ He did, however, draw attention to provisions therein which stated that, having consulted his crew, if a captain ran out of money in a foreign country he was allowed to secure a loan against his ship's equipment to cover any voyage-related costs. Cieślak further asserted that the terms in which this information was couched make it impossible to say whether this rule concerned ordinary loans or bottomry.¹⁰⁶ He concluded that this ruling gave the captain greater leeway than the laws surrounding bottomry loans which were contracted on the security of the cargo, as in certain situations it allowed him to sell part of the cargo.¹⁰⁷ The captain could decide to do so if having hired and loaded a ship he then set sail and was subsequently forced to remain at a port for so long that he ran out of money and would have to send for more from his native country. He had a duty to avoid wasting time on pain of having to compensate any losses incurred by the merchants whose goods he was carrying.¹⁰⁸ In these circumstances the law permitted the captain to sell some of the cargo to obtain necessary funds; the price of the goods was to be determined according to going rates at the unloading port. Merchants

102 Ernst Daenell, *Die Blütezeit der deutsche Hanse*, II, Berlin 1906, p. 352.

103 Brämer, op. cit., p. 68.

104 Ibidem, p. 68.

105 Edmund Cieślak, "Prawa i obowiązki kapitana statku w XII do XV w. według *Rôles d'Oléron* i prawa morskiego Związku Miast Hanzeatyckich z XIV i XV w.", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 17, 1951, 1–2, p. 78.

106 Ibidem, p. 78.

107 Ibidem, p. 79.

108 Ibidem, p. 79.

were obliged to pay the captain freight for the portion of the cargo sold.¹⁰⁹ Cieślak believed that the right to sell part of the cargo admitted in French law provides indirect evidence of the right to secure a bottomry loan against the ship's cargo, albeit one that was rarely exercised because the social trust needed in such circumstances was lacking; he noted that this trust was also in short supply at the time of writing the *Rôles d'Oléron*¹¹⁰ (long before the 15th century). Bottomry loans commanded high rates of interest.¹¹¹ In Hanseatic law, the provision of bottomry loans was initially prohibited (1418), with the prospect of punishment facing both the borrower and the lender.¹¹² In 1434 this ban was formulated as follows:

Nobody is to grant a bottomry loan, nor is any captain to take money, grain, wine, salt or other goods on bottomry in order to equip all or part of a ship. Neither may he sell goods that are part of a cargo and which do not belong to him. If it so happens that someone, be it captain or merchant, "contravenes this ban, the money given and received or constituting the subject of the contract will be confiscated on behalf of the Hanseatic League".¹¹³

There was even a reward amounting to one-third of the confiscated sum for any whistle-blowers reporting a transaction of this type.¹¹⁴ This resolution was repeated in 1441, 1442 and 1447, a clause being added in the last of these years stipulating that freight could not be given as security for the provision of a bottomry loan.¹¹⁵ In the debate between Hirsch and Daenell, Cieślak sided with the latter, supporting his argument by citing the influence of French legislation on Hanseatic law, and pointing to the fact that the legal decisions of the Hanseatic assemblies essentially forbade speculative loans (to equip a ship for a voyage). It was, however, permissible to take out a loan in order to complete a sea voyage which had been interrupted for whatever reason.¹¹⁶ In reality, these principles were not always strictly observed in Hanseatic towns, as is amply illustrated in the case of Gdańsk.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 79.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 79.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, p. 79.

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 79.

¹¹³ Ibidem, pp. 79–80, wherein there is a quote from a footnote (n. 100) to the original text, see HR, II, 1, no. 321 paragraph 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 80.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 80.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 80–81.

In his quest to raise funds for the repair of the caravel, Pierre de Nantes decided to obtain a bottomry loan secured against the ship and her equipment (though not the cargo, as part of it had already been sold and the money made from the sale had been spent). Moreover, it seems that from Pierre de Nantes' perspective there was precious little time for deliberating over legal uncertainties. Ultimately, the fact is that he took out a loan on Aymar Beuf's behalf, without the latter's knowledge (the details of this issue are rather more complicated and will be addressed further on).

On 19 May 1464 Pierre de Nantes made a statement acknowledging that he owed two citizens of Gdańsk, Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, 1000 marks, which he had obtained by hypothecating the ship under his command, her rigging and other equipment ("schip und crofeel dat hir yn Mutlow licht mit sulker aller to behorunge also takel tow ancer ect"). The sum of 1000 marks was to be repaid by 29 September, or at the very latest by 11 November (although not stated, the year in question was most likely 1464).¹¹⁷ In the event of the money not being repaid, the ship would become the property of the two lenders or their heirs.¹¹⁸ Before probing this subject any further, it is worth reporting on the results of an external criticism of the extant hypothecation bond, particularly in view of the grievances which were later lodged by the French. The contract was recorded on parchment; however, what we are dealing with is not a separate, individual (i.e. loose) document. Three triangles have been cut out of the top of the parchment sheet so that parts of letters are still visible but it is difficult to discern what was written there: perhaps a title of some sort? There are parchment bindings (possibly tabs) in two places, but there is no seal of any kind (as noted in July/August 1464 by the Frenchmen Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot when they came to Gdańsk questioning the validity of the contract). The sheet on which it was written (referred to as a "breve") may have come from the magistrates' book, from which it was removed to serve as evidence.¹¹⁹ Significantly, the document itself records the fact that it was drawn up in two identical copies: one for the creditors Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, and one for Pierre de Nantes.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ It seems obvious that an autumn deadline was set for the repayment because Pierre de Nantes was certain (possibly based on earlier arrangements with Aymar Beuf of which we are unaware) that he would have returned to Gdańsk by then.

¹¹⁸ HU, 9, no. 95. This loan arrangement is remarked on, without going into details, by Abraham-Thisse (*Le commerce des Hanséates*, p. 133), who also points out its consequences, namely the long-running dispute between France, Gdańsk and Poland, up to Aymar Beuf's demands for compensation of 10,000 crowns.

¹¹⁹ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 3; cf. HU, 9, no. 95.

¹²⁰ HU, 9, no. 95; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 45–46.

More importantly still, it transpires from the later course of events that Pierre de Nantes actually received 385 rather than 1000 marks. Given that Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot mentioned that they had received this sum (385 marks) in August 1464,¹²¹ we can rule out the likelihood that Pierre de Nantes had already managed to repay the bulk of the loan by that time. On the other hand, the assertions that de Nantes' creditors, Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, were willing to waive their demands for 1000 marks in exchange for some form of "compensation" (discussed in detail below) precludes the possibility of their having paid out only 385 of the promised 1000 marks by August 1464. The only logical conclusion is that the said 1000 marks represented the sum of the loan plus accrued interest. Research has shown that bottomry loans were charged at very high rates of interest: 20%, 25%, or even more,¹²² though the interest was probably capitalised. Since Pierre de Nantes had received 385 marks, at a monthly interest rate of around 27% and with monthly capitalisation of interest he would indeed have had to repay his creditors 1000 marks.¹²³

The hypothecation bond also provided an inventory of the equipment that remained aboard the caravel at the time when this contract was drawn up. A list of the equipment and items mentioned in this document is presented in Table 6.

In this table I have attempted to categorise the equipment and items listed in the hypothecation bond. The list opens with the ship's mainsail, referred to as a "Schonefaresegel",¹²⁴ and a square sail with two bonnets plus an extra third bonnet. In nautical terminology a bonnet is an additional piece of canvas laced to the foot of a sail to increase its surface area. The next item on the list is a mizzen sail ("moysanssegel" / "der Bezan"),¹²⁵ a lateen sail set on the mizzenmast (the word mizzen itself denotes both the sail and rigging of the ship's rear mast) with a bonnet, followed by a "vockensegel" or foresail. This information tells us that the ship had a simple sail plan, the mention of three principal

121 Further reference will be made to this in a series of other statements, which will be cited below.

122 Daenell, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

123 Calculations based on the fact that the loan was granted for a period of 4 months (and with capitalisation of interest) are as follows: 1st month: 385 marks + $385 \times 27\% = 488.95$; 2nd month: $488.95 \text{ marks} \times 27\% + 488.95 = 620.9665$; 3rd month: $620.9665 \text{ marks} \times 27\% + 620.9665 = 788.62745$; 4th month: $788.62745 \times 27\% + 788.62745 = 1001.55686$.

124 HU, 9, no. 95. Regarding the translation of terminology see Karen Günther, *Wort- und Sachgeschichte der Schifffahrt in Mittel- und Nordeuropa von den Anfängen bis zum späten Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zu "Wörter und Sachen" anhand ausgewählter Beispiele*, Frankfurt am Main 1987, pp. 109–10. See also Röding, *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Marine*, Leipzig 1891.

125 Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

TABLE 6 Data compiled based on a document of 19 May 1464 concerning equipment and items from the caravel pledged as security^a

Item no.	Item: source term	Item: contemporary term	Explanatory remarks	Category
1	Schonefaresegel	Mainsail	Mainsail	Sails
1a	2 bonnytte	Bonnet	Strip of canvas attached (vertically in this case) to the bottom of a sail to increase its surface area	Sails
1b	Bonnyt, de dar lig gen	Bonnet	Attached horizontally in this instance	Sails
2	Moysanssegel mit dem bonnyte	Mizzen	Rear sail with bonnet	Sails
3	Vockensegel	Foresail	Front sail	Sails
4	Viiff hupen kabeltaw	Five piles of anchor cables (part of the ship's fittings)	Anchor cables	Fittings
4a	Viiff nye kabel	Five anchor cables		Fittings
5	Twe dageliks to besygen	Dictionary definition: "Ein Ende von einem Tau"	?	?
6	Dree olde und eyn kolt Klein stach	3 old stays and one small stay	Ropes leading fore and aft from a mast along the centreline of the hull to stabilise the mast; part of a ship's standing rigging	Rigging

^a Cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 45–46, wherein there are no explanations and even some omissions. Explanatory remarks regarding the terminology used in this table are based on Johann Hinrich Röding, *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Marine*, I–II, Leipzig 1891, passim.

TABLE 6 Data compiled based on a document of 19 May 1464 (*cont.*)

Item no.	Item: source term	Item: contemporary term	Explanatory remarks	Category
7	Under eynem rabende, Rabende kurze Taue mit denen das Siegel an die Raa gebunden ist	Robands	Short ropes used to secure a sail to the yard above it	Cordage
8	Beslagen yn eynem hupen ^b	Pile of ropes “Beschlagenlinen”	Ropes for securing sails when in port	
9–10	Eyn cordeel tom rade unde zehn fancklynen to den anceker tynen stuck	“Ein Kardeel”	A rope for hoisting a yard – a halyard	
11	Under eynem rabende sesz stuck upstande hovettow	“Taue zum Stützen des Mastes zur Seite” ^c	Shrouds	Standing rigging
12	Backstage sesz stuck	6 backstays	Ropes running aft from a mast to support it	Standing rigging
13	Under eynem rabande oygyn und ander lopende tow tyen stuck	Parts of the rigging		Rigging
14	Trossen und worpptom (Worptaue) 23 stuck	Hawsers – mooring ropes	Hawser-laid rope	Cordage

^b Described as lying beneath the reef-band (probably a reference to reef points).

^c Kammler, *Up eventur*, p. 146, n. 624.

Item no.	Item: source term	Item: contemporary term	Explanatory remarks	Category
15	Tallige lynen 6 stuck	German <i>Tajle</i> , Dictionary definition: Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Marine, I–II, Leipzig, 1891, p. 770		
16	Eynem hupen prior, rack, leddichgengere, oygyn, blocke (schiffrole) und ander loze ding	Parrel (German <i>Rack</i>) – an item of ship's equipment enabling the lifting and rotation of a yard		
17	Twee boygerepen	“Tau womit die Boje am anker befestig” – buoy-rope (thin rope attaching a buoy to an anchor to indicate the anchor's location)		
18	Rabende dat takiel to der moyzan und fockemast	Rigging for the mizzen and foremast		Rigging
19	32 manneharnasch mit pipen, lappen und zelayen	32 armours with pikes and leather fittings		Armament
20	Twe manneharnasch, dar breken dree pippen	2 armours, 3 broken pikes		

TABLE 6 Data compiled based on a document of 19 May 1464 (*cont.*)

Item no.	Item: source term	Item: contemporary term	Explanatory remarks	Category
21	14 steynbussen mit 48 kamern	14 stone guns	Described as being at Kulemborge's ^d	Armament
22	Ynt schip 3 steynbussen	3 stone guns		
23	Up dem spiker eynkley n espinganker	Small anchor for the ship's boat		
24	17 Jenovoesche platen	17 Genoese breastplates		
25	Eft brunnygen mit 7 par lappen	–		
26	15 winderarmborste, stelen und holten mit veer wynden	15 crossbows		
27	32 spete mit langen ysern und pollexe		Axes (among other things)	
28	Eyne terras	Trestle gun		
29	Lotbusse	Gun firing iron balls		
30	Eyn kleyn anker to dem bote	Boat anchor		Anchor
31	1 tonne pick 3 bunt lenczen	Barrel of pikes and 3 bundles of lances		
32	Yn der schefferye liegen glevyen, schilde und lentzen ungetellet			

^d "Kulemborge" is probably a reference to Jacob Kulemberge (more of whom later).

Item no.	Item: source term	Item: contemporary term	Explanatory remarks	Category
33	7 platen mit 7 hufen, 11 olde hufen			
34	Upter lastadye (...) viif bochancer		“Alse men erst over de brugge kompt, tor forden gant stan...”	
35	Upter lastadye de grote nye mast	New mast at Lastadia		Mast
36	Yn der repeschune twe nye geslagen tow, de to bolynen denen mogen	Cordage at ropemaker’s		
37	Recht boeth dat licht an der bord des schepes	Boat		
38	Esping sal en de raed toleveren mit 36 botesreemen und 1 swepe	Esping with 36 oars		
39	Vor her Claus Vlynts huse steit dat plichtancker	Anchor outside the house of burgher Claus Vlynts	32 marks to be paid for it	

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

sails indicating that there were three masts, as is consistent with the design of a caravel. The list goes on to itemise various parts of the ship’s rigging, including her standing rigging.

Armament also features in the inventory, suggesting that the caravel had been equipped to face potential pirate attacks. Entries detail 34 sets of

armour complete with fastenings (*lappen* – some form of leather fittings, and *zelayen* – leather straps or thongs). Thirty-two of the armours are listed alongside the same number of *pipen*, in other words pikes (“pipe am Harinsch”), whilst the pikes accompanying the remaining two sets of armour are referred to as being broken.

The inventory records 14 stone guns kept at the property of someone by the name of Kulemborge (probably a reference to Jacob Kulemberge, mentioned in a document of 1469),¹²⁶ as well as three other stone guns. There was also a trestle gun aboard the ship.¹²⁷ The list goes on to mention an anchor for the ship's *esping* (*Espingancker*). Other items pledged as security included armaments such as breastplates, plate armour (*platen*), crossbows, shields, lances, arrows and helmets.¹²⁸

The bond reveals that the building materials (timber) at Lastadia being used for the construction of the new (and almost ready) mast, the new cordage at the ropemaker's and five anchors also served as security for the loan. The ship's boat and her *esping* (with 36 oars) were also pledged. The ship's main anchor, which had been deposited outside the house of Gdańsk citizen Claus Flint, was valued at 32 marks.¹²⁹

Coming back to Pierre de Nantes, we know that once he had obtained the bottomry loan, hence by May 1464, he cleared his debt with Hans Olden by repaying 80 marks, and returned 100 marks to Symon Lubelow. This means that he repaid the latter 20 marks more than he had borrowed, making this a loan at 25% interest. Pierre de Nantes also met the financial obligations left unfulfilled by Pierre Bizart (paying for the clothes and victuals Bizart had ordered, and, most importantly, covering the costs of his funeral and the execution of his will). He also purchased meat from the butcher Heinrich Hosen, paying him 13 marks, and bought flour from two women for the sum of 9 marks and 4 *skojecs*. He paid Claus Flint 32 marks for the safekeeping of the ship's anchor. Once “Old” Andreas had returned from Toruń, de Nantes paid him 4 marks and 16 *skojecs* for procuring 11 masts (spars). He also settled bills for wainscot and planks and for a further 44 spars (though in fact there were probably 46

¹²⁶ It was in 1469 that the caravel's sails changed hands from Kulemborge to Matthias Neged-anck: AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 2 b, k. 136 and see also k. 178 and 178v (though we do not know how they came to be in Kulemborge's possession). This information appears to suggest that the caravel was slowly deteriorating.

¹²⁷ On the armament of ships see also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 152 ff.

¹²⁸ HU, 9, no. 95, extensive calendar based on AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 3.

¹²⁹ Ibidem.

altogether), spending a total of 45 marks.¹³⁰ We know from a later statement that de Nantes also used other funds to pay an additional 20 marks for the transport of the mast timbers.¹³¹ The Breton later claimed that he had used the money borrowed from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange to buy 35 masts (spars),¹³² meaning 35 of the 46 that he had ordered.

The bottomry loan enabled further repairs to be carried out to the caravel. Master Jakub (referred to as a *moeszmaker/marsmaker* – a master spar-maker) received 7 *skojecs* for his work on the mast.¹³³ The ship was taken for “kalfartoren” (“kielholen”), hence for re-caulking and tarring of her hull,¹³⁴ at a cost of 2 marks.¹³⁵ Pierre de Nantes paid 3 marks and 2 pfennigs for 12 days of maintenance work on the caravel. In addition, both the ship and her boats were tarred (*peken*) at a cost of 1 mark minus 3 pfennigs. The Breton also paid 2 marks to a carpenter for six days’ work. He inspected the sets of armour (probably the two with broken pikes) and had them repaired at a cost of 20 *skojecs* and 2 pfennigs, spending a further 1 mark and 20 *skojecs* on six armour components.¹³⁶

In the early summer of 1464 repairs to the caravel were so far advanced that Pierre de Nantes thought she would soon be ready to set out to sea again. With this prospect in mind he sent three messengers to France (at a cost of 41 marks)¹³⁷ to ask what her next destination should be. However, the repairs came to a sudden halt, and a document of 16 September 1464 reveals that by

130 AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7; cf. Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 143. Kammler states that in 1473 the cost of a plank (*wagenschot*) in Hamburg was 3 schillings, rising to 3 schillings and 6 pfennigs in 1495; see also idem “... umme dat kraveel...”, p. 17.

131 AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

132 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

133 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7.

134 Binerowski, *Gdański przemysł*, p. 86, 108–09. *Kielholen*, a procedure carried out on a slipway (*Kielbank*), involved maintenance work on the hull. In 18th-century Gdańsk repairs were carried out on the Na Stępcie Canal, where there were two slips. According to Binerowski, *kielholen* was a three-day task in Gdańsk, and encompassed the cleaning and re-caulking of existing leaks. Gaps were filled with fibrous caulking materials and then sealed in a process known as calefaction, which involved applying a mixture of melted tar, pitch, resin, wax and animal fat on top of the caulking. See also Stanisław Gierszewski, *Elbląski przemysł okrętowy w latach 1570–1815*, Gdańsk 1961, pp. 67–68. According to Schweitzer (*Schiffer und Schiffmann*, footnote on p. 39) “Der Kalfaterer” was someone who “die Boote und Schiffe kalfatert”, hence caulked ships’ hulls.

135 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 6.

136 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14, k. 6.

137 Ibidem, k. 6.

that date the caravel had once more fallen into disrepair and was in danger of keeling over.¹³⁸

The abandonment of the ship's overhaul was precipitated by events in France and their repercussions in Gdańsk. When Aymar Beuf returned to France, after the death of his relative Pierre Beuf, King Louis XI provided him with financial assistance to cover the costs he had already incurred; however, the monarch also assumed ownership of the caravel left abandoned in Gdańsk. Thus, the vessel was now the property of his royal majesty¹³⁹ and, as such, played a part in Louis XI's policy towards the Hanseatic League. As early as October 1463, the king resolved to restore trade with the German Hanse and with German merchants, which had stalled somewhat during the wars of Charles VII. He ordered all of his officials at French ports to remind the Hanseatics of the privileges they had been granted by his predecessors, entitling them to trade freely in La Rochelle and at other French ports without fear of arrest or assault.¹⁴⁰ In April 1464 Louis reaffirmed these privileges,¹⁴¹ which is significant to the further course of events in this narrative. We also know that the king happened to be developing and expanding his "national" fleet at this time.¹⁴²

Louis XI appointed Pierre Cousinot to represent him in matters concerning the caravel stranded on the Motława, and sent him to Gdańsk together with the ship's former patron Aymar Beuf with a letter demanding that the caravel

138 The fact that she was listing precariously is mentioned in a notarial instrument of 16 September 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

139 HU, 9, no. 122 (notarial deposition made by the French on 10 August 1464) and no. 296 (letter of 14 July 1466 from Louis XI to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*). The issue of Louis XI having sent Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf was brought up again in a letter from Aymar Beuf to Gdańsk on 12 June 1474: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 18.

140 HU, 9, no. 29, see also p. 16, n. 2, where there is mention of Wilhelm de Combes, magistrate of La Rochelle, having dealings with merchants from Bruges, confirmed by a letter of 20 July 1463 from Louis XI. Cf. HR, II/5, no. 704, no. 705, letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Lübeck and Hamburg about privileges having been awarded to the Hanse by the king of France; see also nos. 706–11, testifying to the circulation of this news among Hanseatic towns from August to October 1464.

141 HU, 9, no. 87. See also no. 118, a document about the publication (proclamation) of privileges granted by King Louis XI to Hanseatic merchants. These proclamations were made between 12 June and 16 July 1464 (in La Rochelle on 10 July 1464). See also Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy*, Warsaw, 1997, p. 273, who asserts that these privileges gave Hanseatic merchants the right to trade throughout France, on condition that they did not do business with the English nor hire English ships. The privileges also exempted them from arrest and seizure of their goods, unless they were in debt; the right of shipwreck was renounced and Hanseatic shipwreck survivors were allowed to remain in France.

142 Jean Favier, *Louis XI*, Fayard 2001.

be given back to them and promising that the costs which this incurred would be reimbursed.¹⁴³

The existing historiography does not explain why Louis XI decided to appropriate the caravel. Otto Held simply stated that Pierre Beuf had died heirless and that this was why the ship had been taken over,¹⁴⁴ but this does not really clarify the issue. In his biography of Louis XI, Jean Favier mentions that the ship changed hands as a result of the death of her owner and an error made by his heir, but he does not explain what this error was.¹⁴⁵ If, however, the deductions I made in the introduction about the caravel having been built on credit are correct, and there had not been enough time for the ship to “work off” this debt before disaster struck during her first voyage, then Aymar’s “error” may have been the mishap she suffered in the Gdańsk roads. Continuing this train of thought, it can be argued that Louis XI subsequently covered the debts associated with the ship’s construction, for which Aymar Beuf was now liable, and in doing so became the owner of the caravel.

The repairs to the caravel organised by Pierre de Nantes and her being taken over by Louis XI must have taken place in parallel. Conclusive evidence of this comes from a notarised deposition made by both of the king’s representatives, Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf, shortly after their arrival in Gdańsk on 10 August 1464.¹⁴⁶ In terms of the chronological sequence of events described therein, the deposition consists of two distinct parts. It begins with a first-person singular account naming Aymar (or, more accurately, dictated by him), who is described as “patrone des nageschreven schepes genant Sanctus Petrus de Rupella”, hence the patron of the ship, who arrived “myt myner kopenschaft” (indicating that he was part of a group of merchants who had formed a company) accompanied by other skippers and merchants with a safe conduct allowing them freedom of navigation.¹⁴⁷ The fact that this part of the deposition referred to the past, namely to 1462, when the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* entered the port of Gdańsk, is suggested by the use of the term “patron” in reference to Aymar Beuf. This introduction is followed by a description of further events (naturally, Aymar’s version of them): the ship being entrusted to Peter Bizart and an account of what happened after the captain had set sail for France, including the episode involving Pierre de Nantes. It is only in the second section of the deposition that reference is made to the current state of

143 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4 and 6; see HU, 9, nos. 122 and 296.

144 Held, op. cit., p. 198.

145 Favier, *Louis XI*, p. 619.

146 HU, 9, no. 122, p. 67.

147 HU, 9, no. 122.

affairs in the summer of 1464,¹⁴⁸ with both Frenchmen now being referred to as the patrons of the caravel, but on behalf of King Louis XI.¹⁴⁹ From this we can conclude that when Pierre de Nantes took steps to have the caravel repaired during the first half of 1464, he was unaware that her ownership had changed hands.¹⁵⁰ For their part, Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf, who came to Gdańsk in early August 1464 (or possibly even in July) with a letter from Louis XI, were expecting the caravel to be handed over to them so that they could take her back to France. Both of them later claimed (in November 1464) that they had a royal mandate to remove the ship from Gdańsk.¹⁵¹ It is worth adding that years later (in 1474) Aymar Beuf recalled that a royal legation sent at roughly the same time by the king of France to Louis von Erlichshusen, grand master of the Teutonic Order, had also been issued with a request for help, if possible, in the case of the caravel.¹⁵²

In Gdańsk, however, Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf encountered a significant problem: demands were made on them to pay back the high-interest bottomry loan that had been granted to Pierre de Nantes. In response, in the aforementioned statement made on 10 August 1464, Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot accused Pierre de Nantes of abusing his position (by unlawfully borrowing money at such a high rate of interest) and misappropriating the funds he had been given. The second of these accusations concerned the sum of 510½ marks which Pierre Bizart and Pierre de Nantes had had at their disposal (divided into 374 marks and 10 groschen, and 25 marks and 111½ marks).¹⁵³ As mentioned earlier, Aymar Beuf asserted that the hypothecation bond (dated May 1464) was invalid (significantly, external criticism of the primary source clearly shows that Beuf's statement and the bond were kept together in one place, though it is impossible to establish when the two documents were "combined", and if this was done at a time contemporary with the dispute over the caravel) because there was no seal attached to it, justifying his decision not to recognise the bottomry loan by pointing out that Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar

148 Ibidem, p. 69.

149 HU, 9, no. 122, p. 68.

150 Other sources also indicate that the ship had changed owners, but give no clues as to when exactly this happened; see also a letter of 5 July 1466 from King Louis XI, in which he referred to Pierre Cousinot as his faithful squire, and to Aymar Beuf simply as a merchant from La Rochelle: "fidelis nostri Petrus Cousinot armiger et Maortus [Aymar] Beuf mercator ville noster de Ruppella", HU, 9, no. 294 and a letter from the king dated 14 July 1466, *ibidem*, no. 296.

151 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6 (November 1464).

152 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 17 a.

153 Ibidem, no. 122.

Lange had never actually handed over the sum of 1000 marks specified in the document.¹⁵⁴ The French, therefore, would only acknowledge the legitimacy of claims for the return of 385 marks, rejecting demands for repayment of any interest. Aymar Beuf contended that Pierre de Nantes should be made to account for 885 marks (the sum of the 500 marks entrusted to Pierre Bizart plus the 385 that had been borrowed from the two men from Gdańsk).¹⁵⁵

Given the stance of both Frenchmen, on 17 August 1464 the city council of Gdańsk, led by mayor Johann Fere, summoned all of the interested parties and attempted to reach a settlement between them.¹⁵⁶ However, it seems that even before these talks had begun, the council had approached the two Frenchmen with a proposal that they relinquish their claims to the caravel, an idea which they flatly rejected.¹⁵⁷ Thereafter, the council listened to the statements made by Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf, and by the Gdańsk creditors/lenders Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange.¹⁵⁸ The effects of the council's mediation are reflected in the shift in position of the latter two men, who now laid claim to a sum of only 385 marks.¹⁵⁹ This can only mean that they had both declared their willingness to withdraw from the bottomry contract, though only on condition that they be "awarded restitution", or as it was later described "minor compensation" ("also zee vor vellen Jaren wol gedan hebben daraff cleyne resitucie gescheen is").¹⁶⁰ Thus, on 17 August an initial agreement was reached between the two sides contesting the case of the caravel, mayor Johann Fere even vouching for the return of 385 marks by the two Frenchmen to Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange.¹⁶¹

154 Ibidem, no. 122.

155 Ibidem, no. 122.

156 The fact that the council was led by Johann Fere is apparent from a letter: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14. The event itself is recorded in the city council register: AP Gdansk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63. Gdańsk's laws stipulated that maritime issues, including disputes over ships, were dealt with by the city council.

157 This information comes from a document dating from November 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6. The source does not reveal exactly when this proposal was made; the idea that it happened near the time when the negotiations started on 17 August is suggested by the further course of events, and in particular by the fact that a preliminary agreement was reached on the same day.

158 AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63.

159 AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63; cf. 300 D/17 B, no. 14. This further corroborates the supposition that the amount loaned was 385 rather than 1000 marks.

160 HU, 9, no. 313, extensive calendar; text: AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, k. 600–602.

161 See AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5 (notarial instrument of 16 September 1464), wherein mention is made of discharging Fere from his liability as guarantor. This agreement is most likely to have been drawn up in August 1464.

Meanwhile, the case against Pierre de Nantes was being dealt with separately. When questioned at his hearing, de Nantes had to explain what he had done both with the sum given to him by Pierre Bizart and Aymar Beuf (over 500 marks)¹⁶² and with the money he had obtained by hypothecating the ship. In an account submitted to the mayor¹⁶³ (which is analysed in detail further on), he itemised the expenses he had incurred in having to settle the debts of his predecessors as well as maintain and repair the caravel.¹⁶⁴ He demonstrated that most of his spending, in particular on the purchase of 46 masts, had been covered by the bottomry loan. Part of the Breton's testimony was contested by councillor Arndt Backer, who alleged that the money which Pierre de Nantes had repaid him had not come from the sum loaned by Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, but from funds set aside for the masts.¹⁶⁵ It appears that already at that point both Frenchmen were questioning the truth of what Pierre de Nantes had said about the masts (spars), concluding that 35 of them had been bought using the money received from Aymar Beuf and Pierre Bizart rather than the bottomry loan.¹⁶⁶ As a result of this hearing the council decided to appoint three arbiters to help resolve this dispute.¹⁶⁷ The men chosen for this task were mayor Johann Fere, councillor Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider.¹⁶⁸ However, Pierre de Nantes' request for the appointment of a notary to conduct an investigation and compile a report on the caravel's condition at the time

¹⁶² AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63.

¹⁶³ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14, (formerly no. 12; mentioned in HU, 9, pp. 73–74). This is an undated letter written by Pierre de Nantes (probably already in prison at this point) to the Gdańsk city council, in which he states that he had submitted his clarifications regarding the money obtained from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange last Friday. Friday fell on 17 August and it was probably the council meeting that de Nantes had in mind when he wrote that he had explained himself before the council and mayor Johann Fere. The mention of Arndt Backer, who was that day appointed as an arbiter in the dispute over the caravel, also suggests that this account relates to the hearing of 17 August.

¹⁶⁴ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14, probably a reference to his statement of expenditure: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7 (the date "11 September" which appears on the first page of this account refers to the response made by Beuf and Cousinot).

¹⁶⁵ This transpires from a letter by Pierre de Nantes: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

¹⁶⁶ The fact that questions were raised about expenses relating to 35 masts is mentioned in the statement of 20 August 1464; however, it is more than likely that the two Frenchmen had already voiced their concerns on 17 August: HU, 9, no. 123 (based on AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4). The sums spent on masts by Aymar Beuf and Pierre Bizart are remarked on in the response to Pierre de Nantes' statement of expenditure: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, see below.

¹⁶⁷ AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63.

¹⁶⁸ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5; cf. HU, 9, no. 127, n. 2.

when Aymar Beuf left for La Rochelle in comparison with the state in which he found her on his return to Gdańsk with Pierre Cousinot was turned down.¹⁶⁹

The further course of events shows that the Gdańsk city council refused to surrender the caravel to King Louis XI's representatives, Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot, until such time as all of the contested issues had been resolved, nor did they agree to the seizure of Pierre de Nantes' possessions (i.e. they declined to give the keys to his house to the two Frenchmen).¹⁷⁰ However, because Pierre de Nantes was unable to cover the costs listed in his statement of expenditure, nor to show any relevant settlement of accounts, probably for the disputed masts, the council took the decision to imprison him (doubtless at the suggestion of Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot).¹⁷¹

On 20 August 1464 Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot made a notarial deposition (recorded by the notary Johan Widelerse) concerning Pierre de Nantes' attempt to account for his spending using a separate document (the aforementioned statement of expenditure), in which they questioned (this time in no uncertain terms) his explanation about having used some of the money obtained from Gdańsk citizens Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange to purchase 35 masts (spars).¹⁷² Beuf and Cousinot maintained that de Nantes should be made to account for 885 marks, meaning both the sum of money that had been left by Aymar Beuf (510 marks) and the sum that had been borrowed from the two Gdańsk citizens (375 marks, or alternatively 500 for the French side and 385 marks for Gdańsk). Both Frenchmen expressed their dissatisfaction with the rulings of the city council made on 17 August, in particular taking issue with the council's decision to further detain the caravel and to prevent them from carrying out a search at Pierre de Nantes' house.¹⁷³

Several days later (after the hearing of 17 August), Pierre de Nantes sent an explanatory letter from his prison cell to the city council,¹⁷⁴ in which he professed his reputable origins, stating that he came from an honest family from

169 This information comes from a later source of 20 August 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4.

170 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4.

171 This is mentioned in a letter of 17 September 1464 from Gdańsk to Louis XI (HU, 9, no. 127) and in a notarial statement of 20 August 1464 (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4).

172 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4; cf. reg. HU, 9, no. 123 (formerly 2). The response to de Nantes' statement of expenditure shows that his explanations regarding the 35 masts were deemed completely implausible: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7.

173 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 4.

174 As stated earlier, this letter is not dated; however, when all the facts are collated (in particular Pierre de Nantes' reference in the letter to the meeting of the council having taken place "last Friday") the logical conclusion is that it was written in the week after the meeting of Friday 17 August.

Nantes in Brittany, and then rebuffed the claims (accusations) made by Arndt Backer, asserting that he had also used his own money to pay for the construction of the new masts. He explained that he had acquired 35 mast components and paid off all outstanding debts on the caravel. He argued that he had not only paid off Arndt Backer, but also Johan Meygdeborge and Martin Bock (of whom there had previously been no mention).¹⁷⁵ This explanation did not have the desired effect; the council did not reverse its decision and Pierre de Nantes remained in prison.

Before going on to discuss further hearings and rulings, I would like to look more closely at the statement of expenditure submitted by Pierre de Nantes, and at the response made on 11 September 1464 by Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf, questioning the legitimacy of some of his expenses.¹⁷⁶ A compilation of the data from these two documents is presented in Table 7.

As illustrated by Table 7, Pierre de Nantes provided a detailed breakdown of the expenses he had incurred in settling Pierre Bizart's and Aymar Beuf's debts and liabilities. On 11 September 1464 Beuf responded in writing to de Nantes' list of expenditures, questioning some of them¹⁷⁷ (see Table 7), as he had in his statement of 20 August 1464.

Pierre de Nantes' statement of expenditure accounted for 159½ marks and 4 *skojecs* of the 160 marks he had obtained in loans. Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot acknowledged 88 marks, 14 *vierdings* and 2 *skojecs* as warranted expenses, but noted that this was not a settlement of the loan granted by Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, and that de Nantes was supposed to have paid off these debts back in August 1463.¹⁷⁸ Pierre de Nantes accounted for the 385 marks borrowed on bottomry dividing his spending into two tranches: 248 marks and 21 pfennigs, and 122 marks and 17 pfennigs, hence a total of 370 marks, on top of which he spent a further 41 marks, meaning that he must have covered some of the expenses out of his own pocket.

It is easy to detect a certain logic in Pierre de Nantes' actions from his statement of expenditure: first, he paid off outstanding debts (first tranche), then, with the money from the 385-florin loan (taken out against the ship at a very high rate of interest), he paid off the previous loan (using up almost half of the new loan to do so), after which he settled the debts left by Pierre Bizart, and finally spent what remained of the cash on repairing the caravel.

¹⁷⁵ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

¹⁷⁶ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7.

¹⁷⁷ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7.

¹⁷⁸ AP Gdańsk, 300/12, no. 487, k. 7.

TABLE 7 Receipts and expenses of the captain and his successors in Gdańsk – account and settlement of account

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts ^a by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure ^b	Representatives of France: remarks
Section I				
a ^c		71 marks and 10 <i>skojecs</i> owed to Arndt Backer	r+ (out of A)	F ^d +
		A further 18 marks and 3 <i>skojecs</i> owed to Arndt Backer	r+ (out of A) ^e	– ^f Aymar deemed this to have been Pierre Bizart's expenditure
		8 marks owed to Rudolf Feldstete for rental of a cellar	+ (out of A)	F + He should have been paid this sum but was not
		3 marks and 12 <i>skojecs</i> owed to Tide-man Bock for rental of part of a cellar	+ (out of A)	F + ^g
		10 marks owed to someone who steered the ship (a harbour pilot?)	+ (out of A, but 15 marks instead of 10) ^h	– Losses of some kind?

a Denoted in this table by the letter "r".

b Denoted in this table by the letters "PN".

c "a" denotes the loan of 160 marks: 80 marks each from Hans Olden and Symon Lubbelow.

d "F +" denotes that these expenses incurred by Pierre de Nantes appeared in the list made by Pierre Cousinot/ Quisant and Aymar Beoff.

e Later Arndt Backer claimed that the repayment made by Pierre de Nantes had come from funds raised by selling the masts and not from the money he had received from his Gdańsk creditors.

f "–" denotes that this expense did not feature in the response submitted by Frenchmen Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf or that they made negative remarks about said expense.

g This expense was recognised, but without stating what this sum, recorded as 3 marks and 12 pfenings, related to.

h Interest added for late repayment.

TABLE 7 Receipts and expenses of the captain and his successors in Gdańsk (*cont.*)

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
		3½ marks to St John's Church for prayers for the soul of the deceased	+ (out of A)	F +
			He personally disbursed 9 marks out of A ("vor huszhuren") ⁱ	–
	2 marks and 4 pfennigs for clothes ^j		+ (out of A) ^k	+ F ^l
	6 marks for 3 stacks of silver-plated bowls		+(out of A)	+F
	20 marks owed to St Mary's Church		+ (out of A)	–
		3 marks owed to Johan van Schonwen	+ (out of A)	F +
Total			159½ marks minus 4 pfennigs	Sum of F 88 marks, 14 <i>skojecs</i> and 2 pfennigs Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot acknowledged some of these expenses but argued that they had not been covered by the loan

i He still owed a further 3 marks.

j "Von dem schotten up der temdere".

k He gave these clothes "synem omken eft knechte" (to his servants).

l recognised in a separate part of the account.

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
				from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange but by other sources of funding
Section II				
b ^m			+ (z b) 100 marks paid out to Lubelow: repayment of loan A ⁿ	_ They claimed that this was 20 marks too much and that borrowing at interest was prohibited
			+ (z b) 80 marks paid out to Hans Olden: repayment of loan A	_
	16 marks for 3 lasts of "schepes ber" (beer) and 4 barrels of good beer (4 <i>skojecs</i> of this sum owed to Hans Olden)		+ (z b)	_
			+ z b 15 marks and 52 pfennigs (14 marks to Claus Flint, 1 mark to a servant "wegen dregen 52 pfennigs")	+F ^o

m The loan of 385 marks from Rudolf Feldstete and Jasper Lange.
n Cf. n. 1: 20 marks more was repaid.
o It was noted that a labourer would earn 15 marks for a year's work.

TABLE 7 Receipts and expenses of the captain and his successors in Gdańsk (*cont.*)

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
	2 marks for 3 dresses for 3 crew members		+ (z b)	+F
	16 <i>skojecs</i> owed to master Wilmes Wiff for trousers for a servant		+ (z b)	+F ^p shoes
	1 mark and 12 pfennigs owed to a baker for a year's baking		+ (z b)	+ F
	3 marks and 20 <i>skojecs</i> for 2 barrels of fish, 1 barrel of salt and "mustart" (?mustard)		+ (z b)	+F
	2 marks for herrings and 2 marks for butter owed to someone on Pottegasse street		+ (z b)	+F
			+ (z b) 20 <i>skojecs</i> and 2 pfennigs "vor harnisch spiker dat Hainisch be tern"	F+ ? bo +F
			+ (z b) 4 marks and 16 <i>skojecs</i> owed to Old Andreas for procuring 11 masts	+F

p Another separate account compiled by Aymar Beuf, AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 10.

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
	8 marks for a hat "Bleff semderschen"		+ (z b)	+ 8 marks for his (?)wife
			+ (z b) 7 <i>vierdings</i> owed to master Jakub "de marszmaker" for work on the mast	+F 7 <i>vierdings</i>
	5 marks for 4 barber-surgeons		+ (z b)	+F
	5 marks owed to Niclagen and Lucas for sugar		+ (z b)	+ F only 5 marks mentioned
Total			248 marks and 21 pfennigs	
Section III				
B				
	6 marks owed to the parish priest of St John's		+ (z b)	+F
	Victor – 4 marks owed for 3 windows for St John's and St Peter's		+ (z b)	+ F(only St John's)
	2 marks for morning mass		+ (z b)	+
	2 marks for a sack ^q		+ (z b)	+
	9 <i>skojecs</i> for "gruff" and land ^r		+ (z b)	+ F

q Probably a reference to a shroud for the corpse.

r Probably a reference to the burial.

TABLE 7 Receipts and expenses of the captain and his successors in Gdańsk (*cont.*)

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
	1 Rhenish guilder owed to the parish priest of St John's for a mass		+ (z b)	+F 1 mark and 8 <i>skojecs</i>
	1 Rhenish guilder owed to the parish priest of St Bartholomew's		+ (z b)	+F Curato SB marks 1 mark 8 <i>skojecs</i>
	4 marks and 3 pfennigs for 25 (?) pounds of wax		+ (z b)	+F
	1 mark owed to those keeping a vigil over the corpse		+ (z b)	+F
	5 marks and 1 <i>skojec</i> owed to a Dominican confessor for recording a will		+ (z b)	+F
	1 mark owed to St John's		+ (z b)	+F
	1 Rhenish guilder owed to Master Szymon ^s		+ (z b)	+ F 2 marks(?) and 8 <i>skojecs</i> ^t
	3 marks and 6 <i>skojecs</i> owed to a priest for saying mass for a year		+ (z b)	+F

^s This probably also relates to funeral expenses.

^t An annotation states that this sum was paid by Pierre de Nantes.

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
	3 <i>skojecs</i> owed to an apothecary for 3 poultices		+ (z b)	+ or 3 <i>vierdings</i>
	1 mark owed to Cordula for laundry		+ (z b)	+ probably the deceased's ("defunctis")
	2 marks for prayers for a member of the crew "het Pyse Johan"		+ (z b)	+F Total: 67 marks, 4 <i>vierdings</i>
	1 mark and 16 <i>skojecs</i> for trousers and a dress for one of the crew		+ (z b)	+F
	3 <i>skojecs</i> for 2 Polish bushels of peas		+ (z b)	– ?
			Z B 45 marks for 46 masts – wainscot, planks	+F(47 masts)
			–	20 marks for transport The French calculated that 71 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i> were spent on masts ^u

u See also comments made below.

TABLE 7 Receipts and expenses of the captain and his successors in Gdańsk (*cont.*)

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
			+ z b	+F
			13 marks paid to butcher Heinrich Hosen for meat	
			+ z b 9 marks and 4 <i>skojecs</i> paid to 2 women for flour ("schippel j Lispu")	+F
			+ (z b) 1 mark and 20 <i>skojecs</i> for 6 armour parts	+F
			+(z b) 2 marks for hauling a "Bot" (?boat) to a slipway to be caulked	+F
			+ (z b) 1 mark and 16 <i>skojecs</i> for two pikes	+F
			2 marks paid to a carpenter for 2 days' work on the ship	+ F 2 marks for 6 days
			3 marks and 2 pfennigs paid to a labourer for 12 days' work caulking the ship	+F
			1 mark and 3 pfen- nigs for work on the ship and boat	+ F
			6 marks paid to Kulemborg's wife, 2 marks for timber (?"holt")	+ F

Pierre de Nantes' resources	Pierre Bizart's debts	Aymar Beuf's debts	Settlement of predecessors' debts by Pierre de Nantes' and own expenditure	Representatives of France: remarks
Total			122 marks, 17 pfennigs 41 marks paid to 3 messengers sent to France to find out to what destination the caravel should be taken	— 20 marks unwar- ranted spending 15 marks unwar- ranted spending on having the ship guarded 10 marks for foodstuffs The Frenchmen claimed that he had lost 8 marks 6 marks for 3 bar- rels of foodstuffs 13 marks for 3 lasts of foodstuffs 2 marks for ?“Ad coburedis” Pierre de Nantes' total spending: 81 marks

According to Aymar Beuf's analysis, Pierre de Nantes recorded expenses of 71 marks and 10 *skojecs* for materials and labour for the ship's masts (spars). However, Beuf did not acknowledge these expenses, claiming that de Nantes had left 14 masts (spars) unaccounted for. The remaining 33 masts (spars) were supposed to have been paid for out of money provided by Aymar Beuf, hence – as mentioned earlier – 304 marks, and by Pierre Bizart – 147 marks (though there is a discrepancy in the number of mast components: originally 46, now 47). Thus, Beuf concluded that the masts (spars) had been paid for by other means than the money borrowed by de Nantes from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange.¹⁷⁹

The expenses which Pierre de Nantes had incurred for the treatment and burial of Pierre Bizart and the execution of his will, amounting to a total of 67 marks and 3 *vierdings*, were considered by Aymar Beuf on a separate basis. Beuf remarked that this money had not been spent on the ship, and also made reference to goods worth 42 marks which he himself had left behind and which Pierre Bizart could have made use of. In addition he mentioned the 200 marks that Bizart had handed over to de Nantes (both of these sums have already been discussed). Beuf reiterated that these costs had not been covered by the loan from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange. It was claimed that some of the expenses (20 marks) Pierre de Nantes had incurred in settling Pierre Bizart's debts had been met from the money he received from Aymar Beuf.¹⁸⁰

There were also several other amounts listed in Pierre de Nantes' account of expenditure which Beuf refused to acknowledge, such as the 18 marks paid back to Arndt Backer, which Beuf claimed had come from Pierre Bizart's money (Table 7, entry no. 2). He also criticised the fact that Symon Lubbe-low had been repaid 100 rather than 80 marks, which was contrary to French law. Beuf avowed that borrowing at such high rates of interest was forbidden in France.¹⁸¹ He did, however, accept that outgoings on the repair of the ship and the purchase of victuals (for a sum of 81 marks) were genuine. In total, he recognised around 230 marks as legitimate expenses. Aymar Beuf condemned the very fact that the ship had been hypothecated and reaffirmed that Pierre de Nantes should be held to account for 885 marks, and in particular that he should pay back 385 marks to Rudolf Fedstete and Caspar Lange.¹⁸²

179 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 7.

180 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 9.

181 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 9.

182 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 7, k. 10–11.

All of the statements and evidence examined thus far appear to lay the blame for the problems with the caravel's legal status squarely at the feet of Pierre de Nantes. Gdańsk citizen Arndt Backer even claimed that the money which he had received from Pierre de Nantes in settlement of outstanding debts had come from the funds allocated for the ship's new masts and not from the loan granted by Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange. In contrast, Johann Meydeborge and Martin Bock confirmed the fact that the money they received had come from the loan (i.e. bottomry) granted by Feldstete and Lange.¹⁸³

Meanwhile, a settlement was reached between representatives of Gdańsk's city council and Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot. Although the fact that work on the caravel had been discontinued was proving detrimental to her condition (she was in danger of keeling over),¹⁸⁴ it was the threat of the plague, which had broken out in Gdańsk in September, that made both Frenchmen particularly keen to speed up the negotiation process. The contemporary chronicle *Rocznik Oliwski* (Annals of Oliwa) records that by 28 September around 5000 plague victims had died in Gdańsk.¹⁸⁵ This situation led to talks being held¹⁸⁶ on the hulk *Renoult*, which belonged to skipper (Willibrand) Wiebrand of Terscheling¹⁸⁷ (a present-day municipality in Friesland, Netherlands), and was anchored in the Gulf of Gdańsk (on the open sea according to the sources) in

183 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 14.

184 AP Gdansk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

185 "Die Chroniken von Oliva und Bruchstücke älterer Chroniken", in: *SRP*, 5, p. 633. For further details see Beata Możejko, "Zarazy w średniowiecznym Gdańsku", in: *Dżuma, ospa, cholera. W trzechsetną rocznicę wielkiej epidemii w Gdańsku i na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1708–1711*, ed. Edmund Kizik, Gdańsk 2012, pp. 53–55. The influence of the plague on the decisions taken by the two Frenchmen is reflected in AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5, wherein they state that they do not intend to interrogate Pierre de Nantes because of the spread of the plague throughout Gdańsk, and in 300 D/17 B, no. 6 (dating from November 1464), wherein Pierre Cousinot asserts that they reached a settlement for fear of being forced to return to Gdańsk.

186 A full picture of these negotiations is provided by the following sources: a settlement of 16 September 1464 between Gdańsk and the French certified by a notarial instrument (certified twice – on 16 September 1464 and in July 1466 – AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5 a and b, formerly 3 a and b); a letter of 17 September 1464 from the city council of Gdańsk to King Louis XI of France – HU, 9, no. 127; and a statement made by Pierre Cousinot in November 1464 – AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6, formerly 4. Finally, there is also the entry of 19 September 1464 in the city council register – AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63.

187 Cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5 and no. 6, wherein he is referred to as a subject of Phillip, duke of Burgundy. This source even records that the skipper was around 40 years old.

front of the entrance to the port of Gdańsk, some distance from Reda.¹⁸⁸ The meeting took place in the presence of a notary (the Woclawek cleric Piotr Rode of Wojnowo), with the city council represented by councillors Johann Leeman and Martin Bock,¹⁸⁹ who were accompanied by their legal adviser, Johann le Fevre of Bruges.¹⁹⁰ Also in attendance were Tyman Johansson of Hardewewijk (a scribe from Wiebrand's ship) and skipper Lambert Winter von Sluis (from the port of Sluis, near Bruges) who served as interpreter for the two Frenchmen in Prussia.¹⁹¹ The French reiterated their previous assertions that the caravel had been unlawfully hypothecated by Pierre de Nantes; however, they resolved to return 385 marks to both Feldstete and Lange, thus freeing mayor Johann Fere of the obligation he had undertaken in August to act as their guarantor.¹⁹² This was supposed to result in Gdańsk consenting to return the caravel to the French. Both Frenchmen handed over 395 marks to Johann Fere via Gdańsk's negotiators, the extra 10 marks being intended to cover the ongoing costs of emergency repairs to the caravel.¹⁹³ Because the ship was now listing so severely that she was in danger of sinking,¹⁹⁴ it was suggested that Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange be persuaded to take steps to have her removed from the port (implying that she should be towed to a shipyard), and that mayor Johann Fere, Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider should see to this. Ultimately, it was agreed that to try and counteract the caravel's listing, her decks should be filled with sand, which would be delivered to her side by a small vessel known as a balinger.¹⁹⁵ The aforementioned Gdańsk trio was also served a judicial order to keep track of Pierre de Nantes' movements. This came about because the French envoys were worried that plague fears in Gdańsk would result in de

188 This is stated in footnote 2 of HU, 9, no. 123, p. 72, an extensive calendar of current ref. no. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5. The same footnote goes on to mention (based on a different source) the settlement concluded aboard Wilibrand's ship in the vicinity of "Rade" (Reda): "fere trubus milliaribus a dicto opido de Danzic protunc in loco vocato Rade", HU, 9, no. 123, p. 73, calendar based on current ref. no. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6.

189 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/ 17 B, no. 5, a report of this meeting was certified in 1466 by notary Peter Rode de Woynaw.

190 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5; cf. no. 6. Johann, merchant and burgher of Bruges, 40 years old, fluent in Romance languages and German, described as "expertus et eloquens".

191 This is revealed in 300 D/17 B, no. 6 (November 1464).

192 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5; cf. HU, 9, no. 123, p. 72, n. 2.

193 The 395 marks handed over to Johann Fere are mentioned in the notarial instrument of November 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6. The notarial instrument of 16 September refers to surplus cash that would be left from the sum handed over to Johann Fere (to return to the Gdańsk lenders). This surplus was to go towards work on the caravel; AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17B, no. 5.

194 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

195 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

Nantes not being brought to trial or maybe even being released. They had no intention of interrogating him themselves, but equally did not want him to be let out of jail.¹⁹⁶ They clearly also believed that Gdańsk's authorities should force de Nantes to pay at least some interest on the sum he had borrowed as a form of compensation. The talks lasted several days and culminated in the signing of a settlement on 16 September 1464.¹⁹⁷ What became of Pierre de Nantes we do not know. The last recorded mention of him dates from 19 September, whilst the plague was still rife in Gdańsk during November.

In spite of their earlier plans, the two Frenchmen set sail from the roads of Gdańsk aboard the hulk *Renoult*, also accompanied by another vessel, leaving the unseaworthy caravel in the city's port. Meanwhile, the situation back in Gdańsk took another twist. The agreement with the French concluded in the Gulf of Gdańsk had been signed by Gdańsk's negotiators, Johann Leeman and Martin Bock, because, despite Aymar Beuf's refusal to pay any compensation to Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange,¹⁹⁸ the latter two had been prepared to forego their loan being treated as a bottomry contract (as mooted at the meeting on 17 August). Once the negotiators had returned to Gdańsk, and Feldstete and Lange, who had not been party to the talks held at sea, discovered that they had only been awarded 385 marks and that if they wanted redress for any interest they were owed they would have to pursue the issue themselves with the cash-strapped Pierre de Nantes, they objected and gained the backing of the city council. The reasons the council chose to support Rudolf Feldstet and Caspar Lange need no particular explanation. Suffice to say that accepting the terms of the agreement concluded with the French would have set a dangerous precedent for the future dealings of Gdańsk's merchants. Given that bottomry contracts were perfectly permissible within the city's laws, annulling one in the face of external pressure, and without demanding any compensation, may have paved the way for other outsiders to try and back out of legally binding contracts. Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange actually showed a remarkable willingness to compromise in order to settle the dispute over the caravel; however, in the interests of Gdańsk's wider mercantile community they could not agree to an earlier-signed contract being deemed entirely void. On the other hand, it is equally understandable that under the terms of French maritime law (the *Roles d'Oléron*) it was illegal to secure a high-interest loan

196 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5; cf. HU, 9, no. 127, p. 73, n. 2.

197 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5. The fact that the talks lasted several days was recorded later in November 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6, wherein a document bearing the seals of Gdańsk is mentioned.

198 As reported in a letter from Gdańsk city council to Louis XI, HU, 9, no. 127 (17 September 1464).

against a ship. In any event, the French refused to pay any interest on the sum that had been borrowed, leaving it up to the Gdańsk lenders to pursue their claims with Pierre de Nantes. They must, however, have realised that de Nantes had no means of meeting any such repayments.

On 17 September the Gdańsk city council wrote a letter to King Louis XI.¹⁹⁹ It recalled what had happened to the caravel in Gdańsk: from her being struck by lightning in the port's roads to her hypothecation, followed by the imprisonment of Pierre de Nantes.²⁰⁰ The letter clearly demonstrates that Gdańsk (i.e. the city council on behalf of Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange) was demanding compensation for the unexpected loss of interest on the bottomry loan. The council hoped that the king would be sympathetic to their predicament and that the situation would be amicably resolved. On 19 September 1464 mayor Johann Fere handed over the 315 marks and 22 *skojecs* received from Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot²⁰¹ to Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange.²⁰² We do not know why this sum was around 70 marks less than had been agreed under the terms of the now already broken settlement agreement. The ledger in which this transaction was recorded simply notes that Pierre de Nantes should have accounted for the money which he had received from Feldstete and Lange. Although this statement does not offer any explanations, it does show that Gdańsk intended to pursue legal proceedings (as per the pledge made on 16 September 1464). The reasons behind this appear to have been the costs involved in saving the caravel from keeling over; perhaps it had been estimated that they would come to more than the 10 marks that Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot had left for this emergency operation.

Whatever the case may have been, Gdańsk's position on the issue of the caravel reverted to what it had been prior to the settlement concluded on 16 September with Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot, which the Frenchmen would have been unaware of. The further course of events indicates that they probably only found out about Gdańsk's change of heart when the city council's letter of 17 September reached the court of Louis XI. They even faced accusations of having themselves offered Gdańsk's city council a surety of 1000 marks for permission to sail away with the caravel. This forced Pierre Cousinot to go

199 HU, 9, no. 127. Cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, wherein the day and month are cited correctly (17 September), but the wrong year is given (1466), p. 96.

200 This further substantiates the fact that Pierre de Nantes had received 385 marks from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange and that this sum had been secured against the ship (hence, as mentioned earlier, the sum of 1000 marks represented the loan plus interest).

201 In November 1464 both Frenchmen claimed that they had personally handed over the sum of 395 marks to mayor Johann Fere.

202 AP Gdańsk, 300/59, no. 7, k. 63.

to “den Roeden Leeu”, a harbour in Osthoek near Arnemuiden (in the Dutch province of Zeeland), where he sought out skippers Wilibrandt von Terscheling and Johan le Fevre, who had witnessed the negotiations in the Gdańsk roads. On 16 November, in the presence of these two men, he got a notary to take a deposition about his activities in Gdańsk.²⁰³ He averred that he and Beuf had settled 395 francs (the equivalent of about 395 marks at that time)²⁰⁴ of the sum which Gdańsk was demanding for the release of the caravel, entrusting this money to mayor Johan Fere in the presence of skippers Willibrand and Lambert Winter of Sluis.²⁰⁵ In response to the rumours about having supposedly offered a surety of 1000 marks, he declared that neither he nor Aymar Beuf would return to Gdańsk until the city had returned the caravel and money (probably a reference to settling up for the goods aboard the ship), as well as the ship’s sails and artillery.²⁰⁶

These last remarks about sails and artillery require a few words of explanation. All indications suggest that Gdańsk used the detained ship to its own advantage. In circumstances unknown, the ship’s mainsail had somehow ended up in the care of Jacob Kulemborge.²⁰⁷ The aforementioned deposition made in November 1464 implies that the city council employed the caravel’s artillery (18 of her 19 guns, as the inventory lists a further two in addition to the 17 in Jacob Kulemborge’s possession) and a special boat (known as a flambart)²⁰⁸ without French consent and during Aymar Beuf’s absence, in an expedition “apud Polsque” that was part of a military campaign.²⁰⁹ Gdańsk was also accused

203 HU, 9, pp. 72–73, text: AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 6.

204 Figures from 1394 reveal that the French franc equated to 14⅔ *skojecs*: see Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, p. 242.

205 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6 (16–18 November 1464); cf. HU, 9, pp. 72–73, wherein the editors rightly point out that the statement made in November 1464 by Tymanns Johansson of Hardewijk (scribe on Willibrand’s ship), which was included with the notarial instrument, did not contribute anything new to the case. In November 1464 both Frenchmen claimed that they had authorised the three Gdańsk citizens (i.e. Johann Fere, Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider) to act on their behalf for fear of returning to Gdańsk, which was in the grip of the plague. See also HU, 9, no. 296.

206 These French demands are first noted in the notarial instrument of November 1464: AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 6.

207 The fact that Kulemborge had this sail is confirmed by a later source dating from 1469: AP Gdańsk, 300/43, 2 b, k. 136.

208 This is somewhat confusing given that the bottomry bond mentions only two boats: a “boot” and an “esping”, whereas the deposition refers to a “flambart”. In *Aak to Zumbra. A dictionary of the world’s watercraft*, The Mariners’ Museum 2000, p. 210, a flambart is defined as a boat built in France in the late 14th and 15th centuries.

209 HU, 9, p. 73: “ac eciam ipsius (Schiffes) facelum seu barcham dictam Romanico flambart decem et octo remis armisque corredis et universis armis dictis artellerie, quibus provisa

of having used the armour and gunpowder that remained in the caravel's hold.²¹⁰ In an extensive excerpt from Aymar Beuf's statement published in the *Hansische Urkundenbuch* series, the Latin name "Polsque" is correctly translated as Puck (Putzig). However, the series publishers wrongly deduced that the expedition to Puck had been part of Gdańsk's operations in the Vistula Lagoon which culminated in the rout of the Teutonic fleet during the battle of 15 September 1463.²¹¹ We know that in the autumn of 1462 Polish forces led by Piotr Dunin had marched northwards to Puck, which was held by the Teutonic commander Fritz Raweneck. Ultimately, though, plans to lay siege to the town were abandoned and it was decided to head west towards Łębork. On 16 September a battle took place in Świecino, not far from Puck, the combined forces of Poland and the Prussian Confederation overcoming those of the Teutonic Order.²¹² The possibility of artillery from the caravel having been used in this conflict can also be ruled out. There would not have been enough time for Gdańsk to assess the military potential of the caravel and her equipment in July 1462, not to mention the objections that would have been raised by Aymar Beuf, who was still in Gdańsk at the time. There is no record of Gdańsk having been involved in any operations in or around Puck in 1463, when the town happened to be providing refuge to privateers serving the Teutonic Order.²¹³ It was not until the following spring, on 23 April 1464 (hence after the battle in the Lagoon), that Gdańsk's forces, commanded by councillors Johan von Herforden and Mattias Kolmener, arrived by sea at the town and surrounded it, using defensive towers and earthworks on land and armed boats in the Bay of Puck.²¹⁴ Therefore, it is this siege (which continued until the autumn of 1464) that is probably synonymous with the action in Puck referred to in Aymar Beuf's deposition. It was doubtless after the ship had been hypothecated in May 1464, and probably unbeknownst to Pierre de Nantes (and most definitely without the knowledge of Aymar Beuf, who had already left Gdańsk by then), that Gdańsk's councilmen "borrowed" the caravel's equipment and boat, taking them to the ongoing siege in Puck, which ended in success for Gdańsk and the

redimitaque fuit et fulsita (caravella) que dicti consules captari fecerunt et abstulerunt mandantes ea inet ad expeditionem suam, quam tendebant apud Polsque". The complaint lodged by the French on 14 July 1466 also refers to the ship's equipment having been borrowed: HU, 9, no. 296, paragraph 9.

210 HU, 9, no. 313 (extensive calendar of the *Missiva*, AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 600–02).

211 HU, 9, footnote on p. 73.

212 Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, p. 624; Klemens Bruski, "Puck w czasach krzyżackich", in: *Historia Pucka*, ed. Andrzej Groth, Gdańsk 1998, p. 89.

213 Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska*, pp. 38–42; Bruski, op. cit., p. 90.

214 Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, pp. 657, 667–68; Bruski, op. cit., p. 90.

capitulation of the Teutonic/Puck forces on 26 September 1464,²¹⁵ thus after Aymar Beuf had returned to Gdańsk (more of which later). It should also be noted that by May 1464, at the point when the ship was being hypothecated, most of her guns (17) were already in the custody of Jacob Kulemborge, so it would have been even easier to make use of them. Later (on 25 August 1466) Gdańsk only admitted to having borrowed the ship's boat for eight days.²¹⁶

Written records do not reveal which side's version of events was nearer the truth. Much of the evidence does, however, suggest that with a war on its hands Gdańsk took advantage of the fact that the caravel had been pledged to two of its citizens as security by making free use of the equipment, gunpowder and armour aboard the ship. All the more so given that the two citizens in question were Caspar Lange and Rudolf Feldstete, the latter of whom was actively involved in the war effort. The idea that Gdańsk used the caravel's artillery during the siege of Puck is corroborated by archaeological evidence from excavations carried out at Puck castle in 1991.²¹⁷ Finds included 24 artillery projectiles, most of them recovered from contexts dated to the latter half of the 15th century. They represented 12 different calibres: 21 stone balls of 55–135 mm, two iron projectiles of 45 mm and 88 mm respectively, and a lead shot of 75 mm calibre. The fact that these projectiles were found in a moat at the foot of a stone-built house which served as the office-residence of the Teutonic fish master (*Fischmeister*), next to a gate leading from the castle to a mill, as well as around the house itself, indicates that these buildings had been deliberate targets of bombardment in April 1464.²¹⁸ This discovery proves conclusively that guns were used,²¹⁹ and in combination with French complaints suggests that they may well have been the ones from the French caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle*.

There is no information about what happened to the caravel between November 1464 and the spring of 1466. The diplomatic moves made at the time by the Gdańsk city council at the court of King Edward IV of England doubtless had a significant bearing on the ship's further fortunes. The pivotal issue was the trade in English cloth; Gdańsk approached the English king in order to defend the interests of merchants from Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia,

²¹⁵ Bruski, op. cit., p. 90.

²¹⁶ AP Gdańsk 300/27, no. 6, k. 600–02, calendar HU, 9, no. 313. Rejecting the accusations made by the Frenchmen, Gdańsk made reference to their statement of 20 August 1464 (notarial instrument), which reported no such grievances. For further details see below.

²¹⁷ Artur Wasilewski, "Późnośredniowieczne kule artyleryjskie odnalezione na zamku w Pucku", *Zapiski Puckie* 3/2004, pp. 148–50.

²¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 148.

²¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 149, wherein the author speculates that a short-barrelled cannon known as a *hufnica*, a terrace gun and even a small bombard may have been used.

Moravia, Lithuania and even Ruthenia. Gdańsk claimed that the commercial losses being inflicted by English merchants would lead to a boycott of English cloth in favour of alternative supplies from Dutch and Flemish Brabant.²²⁰

The final events of the Thirteen Years' War and the subsequent peace talks with the Teutonic Order doubtless contributed to the fact that it was not until the spring of 1466 that Gdańsk resumed its diplomatic efforts regarding the caravel. Initially, Gdańsk gained the backing of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir IV Jagiellon), king of Poland, with the royal chancery issuing a letter of intercession in Piotrków on 31 March 1466, addressed to the king of France, supporting the cause of the royal city of Gdańsk and the actions taken by its merchants. This move was linked to the attacks carried out by the French against Hanseatic ships near Dunkirk in the spring of 1466.²²¹ Unfortunately, the magnitude of this letter was severely compromised by a dire error made by the royal chancery, which referred to the French king as Charles rather than Louis.²²² The Gdańsk city council noticed the chancery's mistake and so added to this correspondence a letter of 23 April 1466 written by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk himself.²²³ The councillors apologised to Louis XI for the Polish chancery clerk's mistake, and expressed their hope that it would not cause offence, also taking the opportunity to remind the king about the caravel. However, at the time this letter was being written, Gdańsk had still not received a reply from Louis to its previous letter sent to him on 17 September 1464. Thus, once again, events were recalled from the moment the ship referred to as "navem caravela Sancti Petri de Rupella nominatam" had first appeared in Gdańsk, captained by Aymar Beuf. Mention was made of the fact that Beuf had appointed Pierre Bizart as his successor, and that he in turn had handed over command to Pierre de Nantes. The letter stated that a loan of 385 marks (hence without interest) had been taken from Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, having been secured by hypothecating the caravel.²²⁴ It went on to explain that after Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot had arrived in Gdańsk (in 1464) it transpired that Pierre de Nantes was unable to account for the loaned

220 HU, 9, no. 149; see also no. 162, concerning a letter of safe-conduct for Gdańsk merchants. English merchants had been granted safe-conduct by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk on 14 January 1465 (no. 173; see also no. 250).

221 HU, 9, no. 271.

222 HU, 9, no. 257 (calendar). AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 572–73; cf. 300 D/2, no. 67 (current no. 84). For further details see Beata Możejko, "W sprawie jednej pomyłki polskiej kancelarii z II połowy XV w., czyli przyczynek do funkcjonowania służby dyplomatycznej Kazimierza Jagiellończyka", in: *Kaci, święci, templariusze. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, 14, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Malbork 2008, pp. 215–25.

223 AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 579.

224 Ibidem, pp. 575–79; cf. extensive calendar HU, 9, no. 262.

money and so was sent to prison. The negotiations held at sea, outside the port (“in alto pelago ante portum nostrum”), were mentioned and it was reported that mayor Johann Fere, councillor Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider had been assigned as arbiters and administrators for the ship.²²⁵ Louis XI was urged to send envoys who would resolve the caravel’s ownership issues and clear the related debts, all the more so given that word had reached Gdańsk that the king had already appointed Johann von (de) Cheverdans (Hervetum) to take part in talks about the caravel.²²⁶

On 23 April 1466 Gdańsk sent the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* the original letter from Kazimierz Jagiellończyk as well as their own letter to Louis XI, together with a copy of a notarial instrument,²²⁷ asking them to send a messenger with these documents to Louis XI with a request for a reply.²²⁸ In May 1466, the king’s representative Johann von Cheverdans (Hervetum) acquainted his monarch with the contents of the letters from the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges.²²⁹ On 5 July 1466 Louis called on the aldermen to take immediate action to bring about the release of the caravel, her cargo and equipment, and the payment of compensation (the amount was not specified)²³⁰ for losses incurred. The king let it be known that it was only his friendship with the Hanse that was preventing him from taking retaliatory measures against Gdańsk and other members of the League,²³¹ and that he expected his wishes to be fulfilled.

²²⁵ Ibidem; cf. HU, 9, no. 262.

²²⁶ AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 575–79, por, HU, 9, no. 262 (extensive calendar). A letter of 5 July 1466 from Louis XI to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* mentions the actions taken in Bruges by “our household member” Hervetum, probably referring to Johann van Scheverdans (Cheverdans), whose name appears in letters to Lübeck (and to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*) of 29 April 1468: AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 667–68; calendar, HU, 9, no. 449. The fact that the king of France sent Johann von Cheverdans to Bruges was mentioned by Held (op. cit., p. 199), who asserted (though without citing a source) that the French were using the Bruges *Kontor* as an intermediary to demand 10,000 crowns in compensation from Gdańsk for the caravel, her cargo and for losses incurred. For further details see below.

²²⁷ AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 579; calendar HU, 9, no. 263. Gdańsk’s councillors later made reference to the notarial instrument drawn up by J. Wilares, hence the one dating from 20 August 1464, though perhaps they really meant the second one of 16 September 1464.

²²⁸ AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 579; calendar HU, 9, no. 263.

²²⁹ This is reported in a letter of 5 July 1466: HU, 9, no. 294.

²³⁰ However, see below.

²³¹ HU, 9, no. 294: “navem predictam cum suis mercimoniis, armaturis, yssarica et apperamentis dampnisque sumptibus et interesse omni morose dilacione cessante restituitis”. The letter was written “in castro nostro Montisargii” and signed “Loys Toustain, Greffier du conseil du roi”; see HU, 9, p. 16, n. 2.

In response to the threat of reprisals (which would have meant the seizure of ships and goods), the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* took the following steps. They listened to what Louis XI's representatives, Aymar Beuf and Johann von Cheverdans (Hervetum), had to say. Around 14 July their version of events was recorded in writing, along with a list of their claims and grievances.²³² The list comprised 13 points and constituted an overview of the entire story, from the moment the caravel from La Rochelle ("grote schip van Rossele") had arrived and met with misfortune in Gdańsk (point 1), to the accusations that Gdańsk's city council had used a boat, guns, armour, gunpowder and other items from the caravel ("allet gebracht", point 8) for an engagement in Prussia,²³³ covering the negotiations at sea (point 12), and giving notice (point 10) that if these negotiations failed, Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf would return to Gdańsk (thus countering the declaration they had made in November 1464). Mention was also made of the ship having been hypothecated for 395 francs.²³⁴ The only new though very significant piece of information (following on from Louis XI's letter of 5 July 1466) was that the king of France was submitting (through his representatives Aymar Beuf and Johann von Cheverdans) a demand to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* for compensation of 10,000 crowns (*kronen*).²³⁵ This was meant to provide redress for all losses incurred, i.e. for the goods, equipment, boat, armour and other things ("van den guderen unde coopmanscooppen, bote, hernesche und ander") which Gdańsk had taken.²³⁶ The diplomatic efforts of the Hanseatic *Kontor*'s aldermen, in particular those of the secretary of their Bruges office, Gerhard Bruyns,²³⁷ managed to persuade

232 Ibidem, no. 296: the editors give the date as 14 July based on the date of the next notarial instrument concerning this case.

233 Thus reiterating the accusations made in November 1464: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 6.

234 Figures from 1394 reveal that the French franc equated to 14% *skejcs*: see Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels*, p. 242.

235 HU, 9, no. 296. This compensation is discussed by Held (op. cit., p. 199) and Abraham-Thisse (*Le commerce des Hanséates*, 1986, p. 133), who erroneously states that a decision regarding this compensation was reached in Utrecht: cf. Chapter III. Hirsch (*Danzigs Handels*, p. 242) classified *Kronen* as a French coin, a gold *écu* or crown; in 1422 a heavy crown was the equivalent of 1½ marks, whilst in 1414 a lightweight crown was worth approximately 14 *skejcs*.

236 HU, 9, no. 181, paragraph 13; cf. AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 600–02, HU, 9, no. 313.

237 Ibidem, no. 297. Bruyns had legal assistance from the royal "procuratori dicte communis Parisus, videlicet magistro Johanni Danners" (Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 199). For more about Gerard Bruyns (Bruns and other alternative spellings were also used), see Renée Rößner, *Hansische Memoria in Flandern – Alltagsleben und Totengedenken der Osterlinge in Brügge und Antwerpen (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, (Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 15; Hansekaufleute in Brügge, Teil 5), Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 294–96.

Cheverdans and Beuf to issue a notarial instrument on 15 July 1466, postponing the enactment of Louis XI's letter of reprisal against Gdańsk and the Hanse until Christmas in anticipation of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of Poland's reaction to the issue of the caravel.²³⁸

On 27 July 1466 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* sent a whole packet of documents to Gdańsk: a copy of Louis XI's letter of 5 July, the list of French grievances of 14 July, and the notarial instrument of 15 July. The bundle reached Gdańsk on 22 August 1466, together with a letter from the *Kontor's* aldermen.²³⁹ A similar set of documents was also dispatched to Lübeck (arriving around 8 August) and to Hamburg.²⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Gdańsk's authorities were counting on a reply to their own letter to Louis XI, given that confirmation of the notarial instrument of 14 September 1464 had been drawn up on July 1466.²⁴¹ Two identical copies had been prepared by a public notary, the Wocławek cleric Piotr Rode of Wojnowo, at a meeting of the city council.²⁴² By 25 August 1466 the members of the council had agreed their position regarding the set of documents sent to them on 27 July. They asserted that the French complainants were maligning Gdańsk before King Louis XI, and rebuffed the accusation that the caravel's boat, armour, cannon, gunpowder and other items had been requisitioned for operations in Prussia, admitting only to having borrowed the ship's boat for eight days.²⁴³ They supported their argument by invoking the notarial instrument of 20 August 1464 sent to Louis XI, wherein the Frenchmen Aymar Beuf and

238 HU, 9, no. 297, wherein suspicions are raised that Gdańsk may not have been telling the king about everything. The notarial instrument was drawn up in the presence of citizens of Bruges.

239 This is apparent from a later letter from Gdańsk to the Bruges *Kontor*: AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 600–02; HU, 9, no. 313. A letter from Gdańsk to Lübeck states that the correspondence from Bruges arrived on the most recent, last Friday, hence on 22 August (25 August of that year was a Monday): see AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 602–03.

240 On 8 August 1466 the city council of Lübeck wrote to Gdańsk with the information that the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges had just sent out numerous letters written in Latin and German concerning the caravel owned by the king of France which was currently detained in Gdańsk. The letters had been sent to Lübeck and Hamburg. Lübeck explained that their messenger had left in a great hurry, and so there had not been enough time to provide him with copies of these letters, which would reach Gdańsk before long. Lübeck did, however, ask Gdańsk to do something about the issue in question so that merchants would not have to face losses. The letters referred to most probably reached Gdańsk by the next ship (unless the messenger mentioned in the letter of 8 August had travelled overland). HU, 9 no. 307 (calendar) AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 9.

241 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 5.

242 Ibidem.

243 HU, 9, no. 313, extensive calendar; text: AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 600–02.

Pierre Cousinot made absolutely no mention of any equipment having been appropriated.²⁴⁴ It is worth recalling that it was probably only after the Frenchmen had made their deposition (or during this time) that the ship's equipment was put to use in Puck, meaning that they were unaware of the incident and so could not have mentioned it in their statement. The issue did not come to light until they had left Gdańsk. In outlining their position, the councillors also stated that they were not afraid of the threat of Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf returning to Gdańsk. They pointed out that it had been the Frenchmen themselves who had assigned the three men from Gdańsk to act as administrators for the caravel. The council also made assurances that they would only hand over the caravel to someone designated by the king of France or to a person who had legal rights to the vessel. The council announced that there would be a further exchange of letters, both with the king of Poland and the king of France, noting that a reply from the latter was anticipated imminently.²⁴⁵ That same day Gdańsk wrote to Lübeck on the same subject.²⁴⁶

The next attempts by the Gdańsk city council to clarify the future of the caravel were made in the autumn of 1466. To begin with, on 6 October, in the presence of the council and mayor Johann von dem Walde, the "wronged" Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange once again gave their account of the events that had taken place in 1464, and a notarial document (statement) was drawn up about the caravel and the differences that had arisen in September 1464 between the Frenchmen Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf and the three citizens of Gdańsk.²⁴⁷ This hearing was probably held in order to assemble legal arguments in case the Frenchmen returned, or someone authorised to act on behalf of King Louis XI arrived. This theory is supported by the fact that on 8 October 1466 mayor Johann Wolde received a certified copy of an excerpt from the city magistrates' book (now missing) constituting an authorisation to take command of the ship, issued by Aymar Beuf for Pierre Bizart, and a later one issued by the latter for Pierre de Nantes.²⁴⁸

In keeping with its announced intentions, Gdańsk also made further approaches to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, sending one of the city's councillors to him (between 25 August and 10 November) with copies of Louis XI's letters concerning the return of the caravel and the issue of compensation.²⁴⁹ The

²⁴⁴ Ibidem.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem.

²⁴⁶ HU, 9, no. 314 (calendar – see *Missiva*, AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 602–03).

²⁴⁷ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 10 (formerly no. 8).

²⁴⁸ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 11.

²⁴⁹ AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 615–16.

Gdańsk envoy was instructed to inform the king about the letter of reprisal targeting Hanseatic merchants (including those from Gdańsk) that Louis had issued based on the grievances of his subjects, Pierre Cousinot and Aymar Beuf. The councillor was also tasked with petitioning Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to intercede with the French king on behalf of Gdańsk's merchants.²⁵⁰ We do not know exactly when the envoy set out on his journey, though it was doubtless sometime between 25 August, when Gdańsk's councillors wrote their letter to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, and 10 November, when they informed Louis XI of this diplomatic mission.²⁵¹ It seems that the best opportunity to address this petition to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk would have been in September 1466, during his stay in Toruń (Thorn) to attend peace talks with the Teutonic Order. We know that Gdańsk was represented at these negotiations by mayors Reinhold Niederhof and Johann Angermünde and by Johann Lindau, the city council's secretary and chronicler.²⁵² King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk sojourned in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) from 23 July to 6 September, and was in Nieszawa (Nessau) on 6 September, staying in Toruń from 7 September to 15 October and again from 19 to 28 October.²⁵³ Ultimately, the Gdańsk delegation succeeded in obtaining a letter to Louis XI from Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, though we do not know what was said in it and can only conjecture that it supported Gdańsk's position. The letter was delivered to France by a trusted messenger together with a communication of 10 November 1466 from the Gdańsk city council, reminding Louis about other, earlier sent letters.²⁵⁴ By 13 November Gdańsk had received a letter of 6 October from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* and a copy of one of the letters from the king of France.²⁵⁵ On 13 November 1466 the city council expressed the view that the best way to resolve the dispute over the caravel would be to conduct a judicial inquiry, but to do this they believed it necessary to contact the patron of the caravel.²⁵⁶ Judging from the evidence examined, it would appear that the patron they had in mind was King Louis XI of France. That very same day Gdańsk's councillors wrote to Lübeck confirming

250 HU, 9, no. 330 (extensive calendar and reference to *Missiva* AP Gdańsk 300/27, no. 6, pp. 615–16). Cf. also HR, 5, nos. 808–10.

251 AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 615–16.

252 *Acten*, 5, no. 69; Henryk Samsonowicz, "Gdańsk w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej", *Historia Gdańska*, 2, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, p. 72.

253 Grażyna Rutkowska, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 208–09.

254 AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, pp. 615–16.

255 HR, II/5, no. 809.

256 HR, II/5, no. 809 (see AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, k. 618), letter from the city council of Gdańsk to the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges.

that they had received a letter from that city, and enclosed with it a letter from Louis XI to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk and another from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Gdańsk. However, what was in these letters is not known (they do not survive). Kazimierz Jagiellończyk is supposed to have offered Gdańsk legal assistance with the case of the caravel for a second time,²⁵⁷ promising that he would send someone well-versed in the law who could help in the event of the ship being deliberately damaged because of anti-French sentiment.²⁵⁸

Whilst waiting to hear what position the king of France would take on the issue of the caravel, Gdańsk planned a meeting with Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns in order to seek their advice on the same matter.²⁵⁹ On 21 November 1466 Gdańsk wrote another letter to Louis requesting that the privileges which had been granted to Hanseatic merchants in earlier years be respected so that merchants from Gdańsk could sail to France.²⁶⁰

As mentioned earlier, the French had agreed to delay implementing sanctions against the Hanse until December 1466. All available evidence indicates that Gdańsk failed to make any response to the French demands for compensation of 10,000 crowns. This approach by France represented a complete reversal of roles: from being the party expected to repay the two Gdańsk burghers (who eventually settled on claiming a sum of 385 marks, which the French argued they had already repaid) they became the side dictating terms. Meanwhile, Gdańsk appeared to not notice or ignore this turnaround, remaining diplomatically silent about the proposal (verging on demand) made in the French list of grievances that Gdańsk should pay compensation for the ship's equipment and cargo. It is difficult to conclude whether the stance adopted by the French was merely a diplomatic move aimed at securing the return of the caravel.

At some point prior to 31 December 1466 (thus in breach of the existing law and the suspension of sanctions) Louis XI's French subjects, despite being on good terms with the Hanse, launched an attack off the coast of England on a hulk captained by Nicolaus Bollart, sailing from Gdańsk to London carrying a cargo which included goods from Gdańsk belonging to mayor Johann von dem Walde and to Heinrich Niederhof (who would later feature in the story of the caravel: see Chapter 3). Other Hanseatics also suffered losses as a result of this

257 HR, II/5, no. 810.

258 HU, 9, no. 449. This is reported in a letter of April 1468 to Lübeck; however, the help referred to was the same legal assistance that had been offered in 1466.

259 HR, II/5, no. 810.

260 HU, 9, no. 332.

incident.²⁶¹ Next, two London merchants, Wilhelm Redknop and John Wendy, took these goods from France to London, despite the fact that some of them bore Gdańsk merchants' marks. Between 31 December 1466 and 23 October 1467 the injured parties (including Gdańsk) lodged complaints with the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in London, as well as with London's mayor and councillors, citing their good relations with King Louis XI of France. Ultimately, the matter was resolved amicably, with the injured parties being awarded compensation.²⁶² On 4 April 1467 a separate complaint relating to this situation was brought by mayor Johann von Wolde and Reinhold Niederhof, father of Heinrich. Writing to the Hanseatic *Kontor* in London they demanded justice and that the promises of free trade made by Louis XI to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk's subjects be respected (by lifting sanctions) in view of the fact that the same promises had been made to French merchants by the king of Poland.²⁶³

We have no idea about what had been happening to the caravel since the autumn of 1464, beyond the fact that she remained languishing on the Motława (as revealed in later sources which will be discussed further on). The earlier cited correspondence indicates that Gdańsk's city council had taken over responsibility for the ship after the departure of Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cousinot. This is hardly surprising given that municipal laws stipulated that the council was responsible for maritime affairs, and thus also for ships. What is indisputable is that being held up on the river for so long was not doing the caravel any good. In the spring of 1467 she began to list again, as reported to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk by mayor Johann van Schewecke during a May assembly of the Prussian estates held in Piotrków.²⁶⁴ The Gdańsk mayor managed to get the royal chancery to promise that another letter would be sent to King Louis XI of France about the gradually deteriorating caravel ("alze des schiffes halben des Carances, das In er Haven zcu Dantzk leyte zcu grosser verlicheit des tiffes").²⁶⁵ In May 1467 Gdańsk also informed Lübeck, Hamburg and the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* about the exchange of letters between Louis XI and Kazimierz Jagiellończyk,²⁶⁶ which was probably a reference to the monarchs' correspondence of 1466 (including letters written by Louis to the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges).

²⁶¹ HU, 9, no. 412, Heinrich Niederhof and other Hanseatic merchants made a complaint on 31 December 1466 (in which they referred to amicable arrangements), HU, 9, no. 355; cf. AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 650, complaint of 4 April 1467.

²⁶² HU, 9, no. 412.

²⁶³ HU, 9, no. 355 (see AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 650).

²⁶⁴ *Acten*, no. 6.

²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 6, p. 31, n. 2; cf. HU, 9, p. 223.

²⁶⁶ HU, 9, no. 362 (*Missiva*, p. 655).

Prior to 29 April 1468 Johann van Scheverdans (Johann von Cheverdans Hervetum) delivered King Louis XI's letter of reprisal to the Bruges *Kontor*, stating that whether or not it would be acted on depended on the outcome of the dispute over the caravel.²⁶⁷ Clearly, Louis believed that Gdańsk had not complied with his earlier wishes and so he was threatening to take retaliatory measures against Hanseatic shipping.

On 29 April 1468 Gdańsk's councillors wrote to Lübeck and to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* about these proposed measures. They confirmed that they had received copies of the *Kontor*'s replies concerning this issue (though we do not know what was said in these replies) and gave a reminder about all of the letters they had thus far sent and received, the correspondence between King Louis XI and Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, and the envoys that had been dispatched in connection with this matter²⁶⁸ (probably a reference to the envoys Gdańsk had sent to the king of Poland).

The sources seem to suggest that because of the debts weighing on the caravel (possibly unpaid bills for mast timber), at some point in time, and in circumstances unknown, the Gdańsk city council sold her rigging, or more precisely her sails.²⁶⁹ The decision to gradually sell off the caravel's equipment may have been precipitated by her worsening condition, which had been noted in the spring of 1468. This may have been when the first transactions took place. It was most likely Jacob Kulemborg who bought the French ship's rigging, as her sails were in his possession on 20 January 1469, though the purchase itself would have taken place much earlier. Kulemborg had already been mentioned in the caravel's hypothecation bond of 19 May 1464, which records that he had 14 of the caravel's guns,²⁷⁰ and we know that in November 1464 the French had demanded the return of the ship's artillery and rigging. In any event, on 20 January 1469 the caravel's sails (her mainsail, foresail and mizzen) changed hands, the Gdańsk merchant seaman Mathias Negendanck obtaining them from Jacob Kulemborg.²⁷¹ There must, therefore, have been some form

267 HU, 9, no. 449.

268 HU, 9, no. 449. (AP Gdańsk, 300/27 no. 6, pp. 667–68).

269 HR, II/6, no. 185, paragraph 17.

270 HU, 9, no. 95.

271 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, 2 b, k. 136 (magistrates' book); the sale of the caravel's rigging was also mentioned by Gdańsk envoys at the Lübeck assembly of April 1469; see HR, 6, no. 185, paragraph 17 (more of which below). Cf. also Hirsch and Vossberg, *Beilage 1*, p. 94, wherein it is reported that the sale of equipment from the caravel was recorded in 1469 in the magistrates' book (no ref. no. cited). For comparative data on sail (cloth) prices see Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 146, who relates that Hamburg sailmaker Johan Groten received 14 schillings in 1472 for the repair of a sail and another 2 for further work.

of settlement between these two individuals. Meanwhile, Berndt Grysowen, of whom no further details are known, had the caravel's mast. The mast in question was probably the one that Pierre de Nantes had ordered timber for. We do not know when Grysowen acquired the mast, though this probably came about as the result of a settlement between Grysowen and whoever had been contracted by Pierre de Nantes to make the mast. Berndt Grysowen also had the caravel's anchor and some of her armour.²⁷² Here again there are no sources to tell us how he had come to own them. In need of cash, prior to 24 January 1470 Grysowen used the mast as security on a loan of 303 marks from Mathias Negendanck,²⁷³ who later acquired several other items of the caravel's equipment.

Gdańsk's authorities not only decided to sell off some of the ship's fixtures and fittings (or use them as collateral), but because of her worsening condition they also considered removing the caravel from the city's port to prevent her from becoming a danger to other vessels. On 6 February 1469, they wrote once again to King Louis XI of France, informing him of these plans and asking him for his decision about what was to happen with the caravel, believing that he should leave her in the hands of the city council.²⁷⁴

The subject of the caravel was raised by Gdańsk councilmen Berndt Pawest and Philipp Bischof and council secretary Peter Schepel at a Hanseatic assembly in Lübeck on 23 April 1469.²⁷⁵ Their reports indicated that nothing had changed in her circumstances since February 1469, given that the caravel remained in Gdańsk's harbour ("des kravels halven to Dantziik liggende"), and that they referred to her as belonging to the king of France, though clarifying that Gdańsk merchants were owed a debt on her. The fact that her rigging had been sold was fresh news,²⁷⁶ and doubtless a reference to the aforementioned transactions. The mention of debts relating to the ship probably indicates that the subject of interest payments owed on the bottomry loan of May 1464 was also broached.²⁷⁷

The April assembly in Lübeck was attended by mayor Goswin, representative and secretary of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges,²⁷⁸ to whom Louis XI had given a letter addressed to the aldermen of said *Kontor* demanding justice regarding the caravel, probably meaning the return of the ship and

²⁷² AP Gdańsk, 300/43, 2 b, k. 176.

²⁷³ See below.

²⁷⁴ HU, 9, no. 552 (calendar), *Missiva*, AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, p. 689.

²⁷⁵ HR, II/6, no. 184, paragraph 20; cf. no. 185, paragraph 17.

²⁷⁶ HR, II/6, no. 185, paragraph 17.

²⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, paragraph 17; cf. HR, II/5, p. 594, n. 2.

²⁷⁸ For more on Master Goswin see Rößner, *Hansische*, p. 290 (no. 28).

payment of compensation. Goswin must have asked for an explanation of some sort (Gdańsk's reports from the assembly are not very clear on this matter), given that the Gdańsk delegates saw fit to recount their version of events, from the damaged caravel's arrival in Gdańsk to her hypothecation. They also reiterated that Gdańsk had informed the king of Poland of the whole situation, both verbally and in writing.²⁷⁹

We know that the city council did not only contact the kings of France and Poland regarding the caravel, they also turned to the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges and the *Kontor's* secretary Goswin, to the so-called Four Members of Flanders ("Veer Lede", made up of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and the mostly rural Franc of Bruges),²⁸⁰ and to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.²⁸¹ The first record of Gdańsk having written to Charles the Bold about the caravel comes from the aforesaid assembly in Lübeck. Seeking the duke's help and counting on his goodwill was a fairly understandable move given his conflict with Louis XI.²⁸² However, in the context of the events that followed (the Anglo-Hanseatic War), it is worth recalling that on 24 November 1467, King Edward IV of England and Charles the Bold signed a commercial treaty valid for 30 years, and then on 16 February 1468 they agreed to work in partnership against their enemies – in particular France. It was also significant that Charles was married to Edward's sister, Margaret of York.²⁸³ Building an allegiance with England against France was especially important to the duke of Burgundy.²⁸⁴

279 HR, II/6, no. 185, paragraph 17.

280 Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold. The last Valois duke of Burgundy*, Woodbridge 2002 (reprint 2004), p. 57; cf. Jan Balicki and Maria Bogucka, *Historia Holandii*, Ossolineum 1989, p. 32, wherein mention is made of the Flanders bench – the highest court in the Low Countries, made up of magistrates from the largest cities in Flanders – but, without using the term "Four Members"; on this subject see also Wim Blockmans, Walter Prevenier, *The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule 1369–1530*, Philadelphia 1999.

281 The fact the they petitioned the Four Members and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, comes to light from the proceedings of an assembly held in Lübeck in April 1468: see HR, II/6, no. 184, paragraph 20.

282 Vaughan, op. cit., pp. 41–83.

283 Stuart Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie 1377–1474*, 11: *Diplomatie*, Vienna 1992, p. 719; Marcus Pitcaithly, "Piracy and Anglo-Hanseatic Relations, 1385–1420", in: *Roles of the Sea in medieval England*, ed. Richard Gorski, Woodbridge 2012, pp. 125–47, (on the situation in the latter half of the 15th century see pp. 142–44); see also Stuart Jenks, "Die 'Gildhall Certificates' und ihrer Aussage zum Danziger Englandhandel 1463–1474", in: *"Kopet und werk by tyden". Beiträge zur hansischen und preußischen Geschichte. Walter Stark zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Nils Jörn, Detlef Kattinger, Horst Wernicke, Schwerin 1999, pp. 153–74.

284 Vaughan, op. cit., pp. 41–83; see also Jenks, op. cit., p. 720.

The discussions in Lübeck did not resolve the issue of whether the caravel should be handed back to France. It seems that Gdańsk wanted to renew its efforts to get King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to take an interest in the ship and provide some form of help.²⁸⁵

Before continuing with the story of the caravel, it is necessary to have a brief look at Anglo-Hanseatic relations during this period – a topic which was brought up at the April assembly in Lübeck in the context of a dispute over Hanseatic privileges. On 1 March 1466, in a letter to the city council of Hamburg, King Edward IV declared that he was willing to recognise and reaffirm the Hanse's privileges in England.²⁸⁶ By 4 March he had confirmed the rights of Hanseatic merchants to free trade for the next five years, starting in June 1466, but with the proviso that they enter into peace negotiations within two years. If this condition was not met, the commercial freedoms would only be upheld for two years (i.e. up to 1468).²⁸⁷ Thereafter, on 31 March 1466, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir IV Jagiellon, King of Poland), sent a request to Edward IV asking him to confirm commercial freedoms for Gdańsk.²⁸⁸ On 2 March 1468 Edward confirmed Hanseatic privileges for the period from 24 June 1468 to 24 June of the following year, during which time they were to send envoys to attend negotiations in England.²⁸⁹ It was during this same period that England accused the Hanse of supporting a Danish attack on seven English ships in The Sound. As a result, on 28 July 1468 orders were issued to arrest Hanseatics in England and confiscate their goods. Protests against Hanseatic merchants were held in London, and damage was inflicted on their Thames-side headquarters (the Steelyard).²⁹⁰ An extant list of complaints drawn up by Hanseatic merchants (including several from Gdańsk) in 1468/69 details the commercial losses they suffered as a result of the actions taken by the English.²⁹¹ In January

285 This can be deduced from a letter of 26 December 1469 from Gdańsk to Lübeck: HR, II/6, no. 283 (based on AP Gdańsk, 300/27, no. 6, k. 716). The only uncertainty is whether the reference to another attempt at arousing the king of Poland's interest in the saga of the caravel relates to the situation of the day (i.e. the autumn of 1469) or to attempts made in previous years.

286 HR, II/5, no. 769.

287 HR, II/5, no. 770.

288 HR, II/5, no. 771.

289 HU, 9, no. 433, cf. also no. 434.

290 Dollinger, *op. cit.*, p. 274, wherein the fact that Cologne took a different stand to the rest of the Hanse is highlighted; see also Hans Fiedler, "Danzig und England; die Handelsbestrebungen der Engländer vom Ende des 14 bis zum Ausgang des 17 Jahrhunderts", *ZWG*, 68, 1928, p. 94.

291 HU, 9, no. 541 (Gdańsk's complaints, Part IX), e.g. paragraph 3, p. 420: Heinrich Niderhoff's and Reinhold Kerchorde's complaint about various household goods being confiscated

1469 at an assembly of the Royal Prussian estates that most probably took place in Toruń, and at which Gdańsk was represented by councillors Berndt Pawest and Johann Lehman and by the council secretary, master Johann Lindau,²⁹² the issue of contacts with England was discussed. On 6 February 1469 the city council of Gdańsk issued a communication to the Lübeck and Hamburg councils about a ban on trade in English cloth, informing them that an identical ban had also been issued by Poland's king, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.²⁹³ At the April assembly (of 1469) held in Lübeck, discussions turned once again to Hanseatic relations with England.²⁹⁴ One of the subjects addressed was the ban on importing English cloth.²⁹⁵ A committee was to be appointed to deal with this issue, its members comprising two mayors of Lübeck, two "van den Sudere-schen Steven" (?), a mayor each from Hamburg, Dortmund and Rostock, and a representative from Gdańsk – councilman Berndt Pawest.²⁹⁶ On 23 April 1469 it was decided to recall German merchants from England and to uphold the ban on sailing to England until 24 June 1469.²⁹⁷ Meanwhile on 24 April 1469 Edward IV reaffirmed the privileges of Hanseatic merchants, and on 10 May extended their validity to 31 August 1469. As before, this was intended to be a time for further negotiations.²⁹⁸

It was probably the efforts of Gdańsk's town council that persuaded King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to take the steps that he did. Prior to 15 July 1469 he informed Gdańsk of his support for the decision taken in Lübeck (in April) to ban English cloth imports. The king issued a written promise to Gdańsk that he would recommend this ban also be implemented in Poland.²⁹⁹ It was most probably in keeping with the express expectations of Gdańsk that prior to 15 July 1469 Kazimierz Jagiellończyk sent the city council "eyne nige certificacie"

by the English. Subsequently, in late 1468 / early 1469 Hanseatics launched an attack on English ships in The Sound: see Simson, *Geschichte*, pp. 287–88.

292 *Acten*, pp. 95–96, no. 17, reporting on negotiations in Lübeck and matters with England.

293 HR, II/6, no. 161; on the subject of this ban see also Jenks, op. cit., p. 719.

294 HR, II/6, no. 184; for more on the subject of this assembly see Fiedler, op. cit., pp. 94–95; Terence H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse 1157–1611. A study of their trade and commercial diplomacy*, Cambridge 1991, p. 205.

295 HR, II/6, no. 185.

296 HR, II/6, no. 185, paragraph 11.

297 HR, II/6, no. 184, paragraph 48–49; see also HU, 9, no. 585, p. 474; Jenks, op. cit., p. 719.

298 Jenks, op. cit., p. 718.

299 Letter of 15 July 1469 from the city council of Gdańsk to Lübeck and to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*; HR, II/6, no. 202; see also Fiedler, op. cit., p. 95; Jenks, op. cit., p. 723; Nils Jörn, "With money and blood." *Der Londoner Stalhof im Spannungsfeld der englisch-hansischen Beziehungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Quellen und Darstellung zur Hansischen Geschichte, Neue Folge), Blohau 2000, p. 45.

and two “geslatene” letters to King Edward IV of England and to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. We know from accounts provided by Gdańsk citizens that these letters expressed support for the interests of Hanseatic merchants and for the idea that they should receive compensation for their losses, and that in addition the king of Poland petitioned Charles the Bold to intervene in finding a resolution to the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict.³⁰⁰ Gdańsk also tried to have a similar ban on the import of English cloth introduced in Livonia and Königsberg.³⁰¹

Before December 1469 Gdańsk’s city council appealed once again to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk for help in resolving the dispute over the caravel. The king, however, declined this request,³⁰² or at least so it would seem from Gdańsk’s letter to Lübeck and Hamburg written on 26 December 1469 about the ban on English cloth being extended to the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Novgorod, Ruthenia, and about the forthcoming Hanseatic assembly. Both Lübeck and Hamburg were informed about previous negotiations with Louis XI, conducted through the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*.³⁰³ Both towns also received news of the Gdańsk city council’s plans to move the caravel from her present berth (on the Motława) because of her ongoing deterioration and the potential threat she posed to other vessels at the port.³⁰⁴

The critical piece of information in terms of the caravel’s story is that plans were afoot in late 1469 to remove her from the port of Gdańsk, probably meaning that she would be hauled to Brabank (though possibly maybe to Lastadia, where we know that her new mast was being built). Then again, it cannot be ruled out that in view of the ship’s poor state of repair Gdańsk may even have been contemplating having her dismantled, though this must have been seen as a last resort.

In the meantime, in addition to taking diplomatic measures against England, Gdańsk had already begun to carry out independent acts of naval warfare. In the autumn of 1469, two privateer captains from Gdańsk, Paul Beneke (more of whom in Chapter 3) and Merten Bardewigk, launched an attack at sea. On 1 January 1470 Paul Beneke, sailing a small ship, and Merten Bardewigk aboard a caravel, seized the 300-last English vessel *Joen from Newcastle* and detained

300 HR, II/6, no. 202. Gdańsk informed the Bruges *Kontor* of these developments, sending the king’s letters to the *Kontor* and copies to Lübeck.

301 HR, II/6, no. 202.

302 This emerges from a letter from Gdańsk to Lübeck and Hamburg: HR, II/6, no. 283.

303 HR, II/6, no. 283, pp. 264–65. On this subject see also Jörn, op. cit., p. 45 and n. 178.

304 HR, II/6, no. 283.

her at Berszhuck (a port near Veere).³⁰⁵ Then, on 19 January 1470, Lübeck suggested that Gdańsk or another Hanseatic town should dispatch a fleet against England and other enemies of the Hanse.³⁰⁶ The Hamburg city council sent Gdańsk a letter along similar lines, also mentioning plans to launch an expedition against England.³⁰⁷

These circumstances (ships being prepared for warfare) explain several transactions involving the caravel's equipment. On 24 January 1470 another deal was struck between Berndt Grysowen and Mathias Neggedanck concerning "dat grote crafeel", or more precisely concerning her mast, which had been used as collateral to borrow 303 marks.³⁰⁸ Lacking the cash to repay this loan, Berndt Grysowen settled his debts by giving Mathias a sail (in addition to those he already had) worth 110 marks, several other items worth 21 marks, 17 *skojecs* and 3 denars, armour worth 17 marks, and an anchor worth 16 marks. This came to a total of 202 marks (though an item worth 30 marks is missing from this list),³⁰⁹ hence 202 of the 303 marks of debt were cleared. It was indicated that the rigging and cargo were further worth approximately 101 marks.³¹⁰ We do not know why Berndt Grysowen did not choose the simplest option of settling his debts by letting Mathias Neggedanck keep the mast. It may have been that the mast had already been fitted on the caravel. Another possibility is that it was actually the mast timber that had served as collateral, whereas the mast itself required further financial outlay. The fact that the caravel was burdened with debt is also attested by an agreement concluded on 31 January 1470 between Pawel Symon and Peter Austyn. Pawel Symon acknowledged that Peter had cleared all his debts relating to the caravel.³¹¹ The source does not make clear exactly what debts these were (or even if they pertained to this particular caravel), though we can hazard a guess that they may have concerned her cargo or equipment.

Prior to 16 February 1470 the city council of Gdańsk set up a committee comprising councillors Johann Peckow and Martin Bock³¹² to carry out an

305 Caspar Weinreich, p. 6; Fiedler, *Danzig und England*, p. 95; On the exploits of both men in 1469 see John D. Fudge, *Cargoes, embargoes and emissaries: the commercial and political interaction of England and the German Hanse*, Toronto 1995, p. 69.

306 HR, II/6, no. 284; see also T.H. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–08.

307 HR, II/6, no. 285.

308 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 2b, k. 178v.

309 Ibidem, k. 178v.

310 Ibidem, k. 178v.

311 Ibidem, k. 178v.

312 Johann Pecau, magistrate (1452), councillor (1455), and judge (1462), died in 1475 (or 6); Martin Bock, magistrate (1461), councillor (1462), judge (1470), mayor (1483) and burgrave (1483, 1484), died in 1484: Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy*, II, pp. 41 and 234.

inspection of the caravel moored on the Motława. The inspection took place in the presence of the notary Mathias Westphal, with a boat being used to sail up to the caravel, where the inspectors' findings were recorded ("acta sunt hec super glaciebus dicto fluminis Mottelaw deprope situm sepefate caravele").³¹³ Their verdict was unanimously negative. They deemed the caravel to be run-down ("vetustate pene confeca"), damaged/dilapidated ("ruinosa"), defective ("cancellata") and decaying ("et putrefacta"), and believed that if left uncared for she would continue to deteriorate, and that she should be removed from the Motława as she posed a risk to ships entering and leaving the port of Gdańsk. Despite this report the city council ordered another inspection, this time involving experts from Lübeck and merchant seamen from Scotland (Scotland was at loggerheads with England at this time).³¹⁴ Lübeck was represented by Ertmann Lange and Johann van Melen, whose attendance was agreed by prior arrangement (as attested by a letter of 19 January) concerning the possible preparation for warfare of a ship from Gdańsk (which also has a bearing on later comments about co-financing the caravel's overhaul). The remaining members of the inspection party were Jacob Krag de Naberdan (of Aberdeen), Allexandro Troell, Willam de Cantle and Willam Forst Sancti Andree, all from Scotland, and two others from elsewhere: Outgardo Peterson de Leiden and Nicolao von Wilszam de Campen.³¹⁵ They came to similarly negative conclusions. This prompted the council to rule that the caravel should be dismantled ("demolliri confringi") and thus removed from the Motława; however, Gdańsk's growing involvement in preparations for warfare delayed this ruling being enacted. It is worth mentioning that on 28 April 1470 the Gdańsk city council awarded Eler Bokelman a letter of marque, licensing him to attack English and French ships.³¹⁶ Bokelman, who would go on to play a fairly significant role in the story of the caravel (which will be explored later), was famed in Gdańsk for his earlier accomplishments during the Thirteen Years' War, when he had acted on the strength of letters of marque issued in 1458³¹⁷ and on 14 April

313 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 12 (formerly no. 10); cf. HU, 9, no. 703 (extensive calendar).

314 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 12.

315 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 12.

316 HR, 6, no. 314; Caspar Weinreich, p. 6; Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 45, n. 178, wherein there is an erroneous reference to no. 316 instead of no. 314). On the subject of this same letter see also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 60, n. 207 and p. 79, n. 267, who states that Eler Bokelman was active in Hull and Lynn from 1462 to 1468, citing Jenks, op. cit., 111, p. 891.

317 HU, 8, nos. 708 and 674; see also complaints made against him by Riga: no. 727 (31 July 1458); no. 726 (27 August 1458).

1462³¹⁸ authorising him to attack the city's enemies. The first privateer raids and news of their success resulted in the reversal of the decision to break up the caravel. By 14 April 1470 Gdańsk's city council was explaining to Lübeck that money was being set aside to arm a ship that summer so that she could do battle against the English,³¹⁹ which was probably a reference to funds being raised to repair the caravel and add to her armaments.

It is as well to remember that at the time when the Hanseatic towns (Gdańsk, Lübeck and Hamburg) were preparing for war, the political situation in England was severely complicated by the ongoing Wars of the Roses (which had started in 1455), fought between the houses of York and Lancaster. Edward IV of York had become king largely thanks to the support of Richard, earl of Warwick. While the king was busy arranging the marriage of his sister to Charles the Bold, Warwick was conducting negotiations with Louis XI. In due course Warwick transferred his allegiance to his son-in-law, Edward's brother, George, duke of Clarence, wanting to elevate him to the throne of England. As a result of a revolt and Louis' and Warwick's support for the Lancastrians (1470), Edward fled to Burgundy and Henry VI of Lancaster was restored to the throne (October 1470), having previously been king of England from 1422 to 1461.³²⁰ England's "new" rulers, Henry VI and his wife Margaret of Anjou, took conciliatory steps towards the Hanse. Even before returning to England, on 1 May 1470 Margaret had written to Lübeck about the tyrant and usurper on the English throne, Edward IV, and invited the towns of the Hanse to negotiations in Bruges and promising them all manner of freedoms.³²¹ Another significant factor was that Louis XI had instructed his admiral of the fleet to allow Hanseatic skippers free use of French ports.³²² Naturally, the political turmoil in England had an

318 HU, 8, no. 1150, p. 691, the city council of Gdańsk issued several letters of marque between 13 March and 9 July 1462. They included one of 15 March for Lemencz Ryke sailing a caravel; however, most were for vessels such as the *schnigge*, balinger, etc. Cf. Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Gdańsk 1953, p. 48 ff.

319 HR, II/6, no. 289.

320 For a broad overview see Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, Yale 1997 (based on the 1976 edition), pp. 126–60.

321 HR, II/ 6, no. 315; Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 46.

322 HR, II/ 6, no. 322 (April 1470, the king to the admiral of France about an agreement between the Hanse, Denmark and Scotland and about allowing them access to ports; see also no. 323 (the admiral of France to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, 4 May 1470); cf. Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 46. See also HR, II/6, no. 321 of 4 April 1470, wherein mention is made of the amicable stance of the kings of Scotland and Denmark towards the Hanse and of trade and peace proposals; see no. 322. Declarations made by the council of King Christian of Denmark about the state of war against Charles of Sweden (no. 327, 18 February 1470) and the letter from Christian to Gdańsk (19 March 1470) were also very important.

impact on the country's relationship with the Hanse.³²³ It is also worth adding that the belligerent mood of the Hanseatics was bolstered by support from Denmark. An important factor in the further course of events was the position adopted by Charles the Bold and his attempts to persuade Edward IV to reach a compromise with the Hanse. On 25 April 1470 he informed the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* of his efforts, suggesting that the Hanseatic towns should themselves take steps to ensure that peace was maintained with England.³²⁴ The duke of Burgundy wrote in a similar vein to the city council of Lübeck on 26 May 1470, highlighting the goodwill of Edward IV.³²⁵

It was probably in the spring of 1470 that work began in Gdańsk on the overhaul of the caravel. The relevant entry in Caspar Weinreich's Gdańsk chronicle is recorded under 1470, after the events of 1 January and before those of May/June: "item in der daste war das gross krafel von lenbort zue danzke aufgeossset und wider gebaut und zugeredet". As already stated, three Gdańsk citizens (mayor Johann Fere, Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider) had been assigned to the case of the caravel in the autumn of 1464. It seems that thanks to the actions of Johann Fere, Gdańsk's city council had gradually assumed control of the ship, becoming a stand-in patron of sorts. This is further suggested by the fact that since 1466 the council had been making diplomatic overtures to both Louis XI and Kazimierz Jagiellończyk in the matter of the caravel. Now the municipal authorities had to attend to the vessel's repairs (which may have been co-financed by other Hanseatic towns) as well as appoint a commander and (more importantly) provide victuals for the newly commissioned warship. The council's financial commitment to this exercise was reflected in the city treasury's spending in the summer of 1471, which will be looked at in further detail in the following chapter.³²⁶

323 It should be pointed out that British historiography treats the Hanseatic aspect of this war as a marginal issue: Ross, op. cit., (wherein the subject is raised, but only briefly in illustrating Edward IV's conflict with the opposition (1469–1471), see in particular pp. 211–12; the topic is somewhat more broadly addressed by T.H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse 1157–1611. A study of their trade and commercial diplomacy*, p. 200 ff, the action at sea is related on pp. 206–08 (wherein the exploits of Berndt Pawest [spelled incorrectly: "Paws"] are mentioned based on HR) and in Walther Stein, *Die Hanse und England. Ein hansisch-englischer Seekrieg im 15. Jahrhundert*, Hansische Pfingstblätter 1, 1905; earlier works which also address this subject include Held, *Die Hanse*, pp. 206–10 and in particular Fiedler, *Danzig und England*, pp. 93–96.

324 HR, II/6, no. 313.

325 HR, II/6, no. 317.

326 For comparison we can look at the situation in Hamburg, where, as evidenced by Kammler (*Up eventur*, pp. 60–68), the city maintained its own privateer ships. See also p. 77.

The renovation of the caravel was probably already underway by the time that the Hanseatic towns began deliberating on what steps they might take against England. Talks were held on 31 May 1470 during a Hanseatic assembly in Lübeck.³²⁷ Another meeting was held in the same city on 24 August 1470, at which Gdańsk was represented by Martin Bock, Johan Winckendrop and secretary Methus Westval.³²⁸ They reminded those present of the decision taken by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, king of Poland, to ban the import of English cloth.³²⁹ The assembly did not make any binding resolutions regarding relations with England, other than enforcing the ban on cloth imports.³³⁰

Meanwhile, on 7 August 1470 Charles the Bold³³¹ made an approach to Lübeck suggesting that they join forces and launch a fleet of 16 or 18 large warships against England (where, incidentally, a rebellion had already taken place against Edward IV).³³² The chances of any potential pact with Charles were, however, being hampered by Hanseatic seamen attacking Burgundian ports and seizing ships belonging to the duke's subjects.³³³ On the other hand, negotiations must have been made easier for Gdańsk thanks to a letter from Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, who informed the duke that a ban on trade in English cloth had been introduced in Poland.³³⁴ Gdańsk sent this letter to Lübeck on 13 December 1470, asking that it be forwarded to the addressee,³³⁵ which happened before 22 January 1471.³³⁶ The ban was introduced to meet the expectations of Charles the Bold, who prior to 18 December 1470 had sent his envoy Peter Bladelin (who also went by the name Lestmaker/Leestmakere),³³⁷ to inform the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* that he wanted Hanseatic merchants

327 HR, II/6, no. 320: representatives of Gdańsk are not among the councillors and mayors of various towns named therein. On the subject of this assembly see also Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 46.

328 HR, II/6, no. 356.

329 HR, II/6, no. 356 (see also no. 202).

330 Fiedler, *Danzig und England*, p. 95. Dollinger claimed that the September assembly of 1470 took the decision to go to war against England (op. cit., p. 275); however, there was no Hanseatic assembly in September, so perhaps Dollinger meant the assembly in August.

331 See W. Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu. Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen*, Bonn 1975; idem, *Karl der Kühne, Das Ende des Hauses Burgund*, Göttingen 1976.

332 HR, II/6, no. 352.

333 On 21 October 1470 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* informed Gdańsk about these complications: HR, II/6, no. 371; Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 45, n. 178.

334 HR, II/6, no. 419.

335 HR, II/6, no. 418; cf. also Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 54.

336 This is reported in a letter from Lübeck dated 22 January.

337 See Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 8 (where the spelling "Leestmakere" is used).

to cease trading with England but also with France. This latter step was probably meant as a form of retaliation against the ban issued by King Louis XI of France against those who wished to trade with the duke of Burgundy's subjects.³³⁸

One Hanseatic town which was opposed to the idea of war against England was Cologne, which was also protesting against the tax (*schooss*) being levied by the Bruges *Kontor* (since 1447 it had been levied not only in Flanders, but also in Brabant and the northern Low Countries).³³⁹ In response to Cologne pursuing its own political agenda (e.g. securing confirmation from England of privileges solely for Cologne's own merchants) on 1 April 1471 the city was formally excluded from the Hanseatic mercantile community.³⁴⁰

Meanwhile, in planning for naval warfare, at the beginning of 1471 Gdańsk turned to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* for help in trying to obtain a letter of safe conduct from Charles the Bold for their seamen, in particular those sailing aboard caravels ("besonders mytten caravcele").³⁴¹ This last phrase suggests that at that point Gdańsk's municipal authorities were certain they would be using the newly renovated former French vessel in their maritime operations, and this move was part of their preparations. The aldermen of the Bruges Hanseatic *Kontor* set events in motion in February 1471, advising Gdańsk to seek the counsel of Peter Bladelin (Leestmakere).³⁴² In the meantime, on 22 January 1471 Lübeck wanted to know whether Gdańsk was planning to send its ships against the English in the spring.³⁴³

Further decisions taken by Gdańsk (including those relating to the preparation of the caravel) may also have been influenced by the Hanseatic assembly held in Lübeck on 1 April 1471. One of the issues discussed at this meeting was the trade in cloth, with attempts being made to secure the supply of Dutch cloth,³⁴⁴ which was understandable given the ban on trade with England.³⁴⁵ It was resolved at this assembly that Lübeck, Hamburg and Gdańsk would arm

338 HR, II/6, no. 433; see Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 54.

339 Dollinger, op. cit., pp. 272–76. More recently on relations between Cologne and the Hanse see Ehm-Schnocks *Burgund und das Reich. Spätmittelalterliche Außenpolitik am Beispiel der Regierung Karls des Kühnen (1465–1477)*, Munich 2002, pp. 86–96.

340 Dollinger, op. cit., p. 275.

341 HR, II/6, no. 434, letter of 26 February 1471 from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Gdańsk, in response to Gdańsk's letter of 16 January (former ref. no. 300 D/21, no. 81).

342 Cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 95.

343 HR, II/6, no. 420.

344 HR, II/6, no. 437, paragraph 5.

345 HR, II/6, no. 437; see also paragraph 12, wherein mention is made of privileges granted by King Henry of England; paragraph 1, letters drafted by Lübeck, Hamburg and Gdańsk.

ships against the enemies of the Hanse.³⁴⁶ Another significant factor seems to have been a letter from the city council of Hamburg to Gdańsk, written on 8 March 1471, about arming themselves against the English.³⁴⁷

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1471 there had been further riots in England, Edward IV had returned to power³⁴⁸ and Henry VI had been ousted.³⁴⁹ With the help of Charles the Bold, Edward IV gave battle at Barnet (near London), where the earl of Warwick was killed, and then at Tewkesbury (May 1471), where Henry VI's son Edward was slain. Henry himself was later found dead in the Tower of London (22 May 1471). After the end of the war (1471) Edward IV reigned until 1483.³⁵⁰

The aforesaid efforts made by Gdańsk to influence Charles the Bold's attitude towards the Hanseatic League resulted in success on 12 July 1471, when the duke of Burgundy made it known to all of the duchy's civil servants that he had granted a letter of safe conduct to Hanseatic privateer ships, permitting them to stock up on victuals and fresh armaments at all ports under his authority.³⁵¹ Significantly, this document makes reference to Gdańsk using "eene carvella" and other armed vessels against the enemy.³⁵² This provides confirmation both of the role for which the sequestered caravel was being prepared, and of the fact that her future captain and crew were assured safe conduct by the duke of Burgundy.

All of the sources I have examined clearly show that from the moment Gdańsk's authorities decided to repair and refit the caravel they ceased petitioning King Louis XI of France about her.³⁵³ The city council had evidently come to the conclusion that by jointly financing the repair of the caravel (later sources show that some of the costs were covered by other Hanseatic towns, or rather by the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*) they had assumed complete control of what they deemed to be an abandoned ship.

346 HR, II/6, no. 437, par. 19; HR, II/6, no. 438.

347 HR, II/6, no. 425.

348 Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 161 ff.

349 There is a detailed letter about this matter: HR, II/6, no. 442.

350 For details see Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 126–77. Significant insights about the relations between the Hanseatic League and England, and in particular with the Hanseatic *Kontor* in London, during this period are provided by Jörn, "With money and blood", pp. 43–44, and Jenks, *England*, pp. 697–736.

351 Jörn, "With money and blood", p. 55.

352 HR, II/6, no. 444.

353 A general mention of the dispute between Gdańsk and Louis XI is made by Tranchant, op. cit., p. 167; see also Abraham-Thisse, *Le commerce des Hanséates*, p. 133.

We do not know the details of the caravel's repairs. An entry in Caspar Weinreich's chronicle about the ship having been placed on a slipway is accompanied by an editors' note stating that this had been done at Lastadia.³⁵⁴ Although a new main mast for the caravel was being built there, we cannot rule out that the ship herself may actually have been repaired at Brabank, which was after all a dedicated repair yard. The details provided by Hirsch and Vossberg, and in particular by Lienau, should also be treated with a healthy dose of scepticism. Lienau claimed that the caravel had been converted into a warship by rebuilding (virtually from scratch) her deck and sides. This work was to have been carried out to a design by Hans Palen, who supervised the repairs to the hull while at the same time learning the Breton method of shipbuilding.³⁵⁵ In reality, the earliest record of Hans Palen having been involved in the repair of the caravel dates from the time when she was already sailing under the flag of Gdańsk (see Chapter 2). Lienau believed that not only were the ship's sides reinforced, but new structural elements were added in the form of castles at the bow and stern, as well as an extra deck installed in the hold to accommodate a 400-strong crew, victuals, supplies of drinking water and weapons. The ship was armed with 18 guns fitted at the bow and stern and along the sides. He also asserted that the warship's large new mast was fitted in the summer of 1471 using Gdańsk's port crane (*Żuraw*). Having stocked up on provisions, been loaded with ash and timber, and with a crew of 400 on board, the warship was ready to set sail.³⁵⁶ Although the last of these details is borne out by written sources (see Chapter 2), Lienau's claims about the ship's repairs and redesign were based solely on logic and conjecture. There are no details about the repairs in any of the sources I examined. The only thing that we know for certain is that the caravel was converted from a merchant vessel into a warship. By the summer of 1471 she was ready for action at sea.

354 Caspar Weinreich, p. 6.

355 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, p. 94, where we read that these repairs were carried out by Hans Pale; the latter detail was added by Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 20).

356 Ibidem, p. 20.

The Caravel *Peter von Danzig* under the Command of Berndt Pawest

In May and June of 1471 preparations were underway in Gdańsk to get the great caravel ready to set out to sea; the whole endeavour was most probably organised and paid for by the city council of Gdańsk.¹ On 22 May the city treasury paid out 10 marks (possibly an advance on expenses) to the Gdańsk merchant and councillor Berndt Pawest, who had been appointed commander² of the ship.³

At this juncture it is worth taking a closer look at Berndt Pawest.⁴ Born around 1420, he began his career in public office in Gdańsk as a magistrate in 1455, becoming a councillor in 1456.⁵ He gained experience of commanding large forces during the Thirteen Years' War with the Teutonic Order (1454–1466), in which Gdańsk, as a member of the Prussian Confederation, fought on the Polish side. Around 10 April 1455, with several armed vessels under his command, Pawest and councillor Hennig German were sent on a mission by Gdańsk's Main Town council. They were to engage in action on the Vistula, launching attacks on enemy blockhouses in the Żuławy fenlands with the aim

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- 1 See financial accounts detailing the cost of repairs to the caravel and preparations for seafaring, partially published in HU, 10, p. 33, note 2: list of expenses compiled on 2 May, 9 June and 5 August 1471. The original source (Pfundkammer, Schiblade LXXX, 12 sheets bound together), which listed expenditure on fitting and arming the small and the large caravel, has never been found. I am very grateful to Dr Katarzyna Kubicka of the Gdańsk State Archive, for sharing her expert knowledge of these collections.
 - 2 The fact that Berndt Pawest took command is revealed both in his letters to the city council of Gdańsk and in the source referred to in the preceding footnote. He was not an ordinary skipper (someone else was hired in this role: see below), but served as a commander, as on a warship.
 - 3 HU, 10, pp. 32–33, n. 2; see also Introduction (Sources and Further reading) herein.
 - 4 The only biographical notes about him appear in K. A von Groddeck, "Pawest Berndt", in: *Altpreussische Biographie*, 2, 1967, p. 492, other details can be found in Dorothea Weichbrodt, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig in Stamm- und Namentafeln vom 14–18. Jahrhundert*, 1, Klausdorf/Schwentine 1986, p. 353, which includes information about his three children: Margarethe, Elizabeth and Hans (a skipper arrested in 1486 in Middeburg with a cargo of salt). The sources and literature relating to Berndt Pawest have been collated by Joachim Zdrenka, *Urzednicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, 11, Biogramy, Gdańsk 2008, p. 233.
 - 5 Zdrenka, *Urzednicy*, p. 233.

of breaching the flood banks of the River Nogat. On 13 April the fleet reached Tczew (Dirschau), carrying out an attack in the region of Żuława Wielka; however, the attempt to destroy the Nogat's embankments failed. Subsequently, on the orders of the city council, both men were sent to the aid of the besieged town of Kneiphof.⁶ In the summer and autumn of 1456 Pawest, acting as a representative of Gdańsk, led negotiations with Oldřich Červonka (commander of Bohemian mercenaries serving the Teutonic Order) concerning the surrender of Malbork (Marienburg) castle into Polish hands.⁷ In June 1458, he and another Gdańsk councillor, Reinhold Niederhof, were delegated by the city council to take part in peace talks with Denmark,⁸ providing him with an opportunity to further hone his skills in diplomacy. As has already been mentioned, Berndt Pawest, along with Philipp Bischof, was also part of a delegation sent by Gdańsk to attend the Hanseatic assembly held in Lübeck on 23 April 1469.⁹ Thus, given the path that his career had taken up to 1469, it seems that Pawest was better prepared to be a diplomat than a ship's commander. It is no surprise then that the council decided that Pawest should be accompanied at sea by the experienced privateer Michael Ertmann, who would sail aboard another vessel – a small caravel.¹⁰ On 22 May 1471, as part of the aforementioned preparations, Gdańsk's city treasury paid Ertmann 6 marks and 1 *vierding* (we can assume that this was probably also an advance to cover his expenses), and by the same token appointed him to serve alongside Berndt Pawest.¹¹ Michael Ertmann had gained experience as a privateer and mariner during the Thirteen Years' War.¹² In July 1456 he was sent by Gdańsk's Main Town council (together

6 Marian Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem krzyżackim 1454–1466*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 353 and 374.

7 Ibidem, p. 453, n. 166, p. 467, n. 234.

8 Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, p. 534.

9 HU, 9, no. 682 (calendar of letter from Alberd Schillingh, mayor of Hamburg, to Gdańsk in which he refers to these negotiators; the letter also mentions Michael Ertmann); HR, II/6, no. 185, p. 143; par. 20; no. 185 (Gdańsk deputies' report on Hanseatic assembly, Lübeck, 4–16 May 1469) par. 11, 17, see also no. 191.

10 HR, II/6, no. 531; cf. Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansebundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, eds. T. Hirsch and F.A. Vossberg, Berlin 1855 (1973 reprint) (hereinafter *Caspar Weinreich*), Beilage II (source supplement). Small caravels were 20–30-ton vessels (see Introduction for more on ship types); we do not know the name of this particular warship. Otto Lienau (*Das grosse Karweel der Peter von Danzig 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegelung*, Danzig 1943, p. 20) was mistaken in writing that Michael Ertmann had probably served aboard a hulk.

11 HU, 10, p. 33, n. 2.

12 N.B. Martin Ertmann also features in documentary sources: see Weichbrodt, *Patrizier, Bürger*, 2, p. 228; cf. Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy*, p. 257, wherein reference is made to Martin

with Vincent Stolle, among others) to patrol the region around Balga, Livonia and the mouth of the Neman.¹³ In late October / early November 1456, together with Gdańsk councillor Heinrich von Staden, he took part in an unsuccessful operation against Teutonic ships off the Samland coast, including an attack on Lochstädt castle which ended in losses for Gdańsk and both commanders being taken into captivity.¹⁴ After regaining his freedom Ertmann continued to be active at sea. In July 1458 the city council of Stralsund sent a delegation to negotiate with him over the safety of their ships, ensuring their protection from potential privateer raids.¹⁵ On 4 July 1466 King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk issued Ertmann a letter of marque.¹⁶ In the summer of 1468 Michael Ertmann and two other seamen from Gdańsk, Vincenzo Stolle and Sterneberg, were accused (unjustly according to the Gdańsk city council) of an attack on English merchants.¹⁷ Prior to 7 September 1468, without Gdańsk's consent or knowledge, all three men had enlisted in the service of King Christian I of Denmark.¹⁸ In 1468 (whether or not still in the service of Denmark is not known) Ertmann and two other Gdańsk privateers, Jacob Haveman and Hildebrand von dem Wolde, attacked a ship from Hamburg skippered by Passchen, and seized half a last of butter and goods worth 228 marks belonging to the Hamburg councillor Herman Bekendroppe.¹⁹ Ertmann's privateering experience was to prove very useful during the campaign against the English.

Ertmann, councilman of Gdańsk; Michael Ertmann, privateer, is mentioned in Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 491, 492; Joachim Zdrenka ("Ertmann Michał [c. 1425–72], żeglarz i kaper", in *SBPN*, 1, pp. 391–92) relates that during one of his actions (while serving the king of Denmark) Ertmann caused the death of Hans Degener and pledged to make a pilgrimage to two holy sites (October 1467).

13 See HR, II/4, 528; Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, p. 491.

14 Marian Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Gdańsk 1966, p. 22, wherein it is claimed that those taken captive were Vincent Stolle and Heinrich von Staden; cf. idem, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, p. 492, wherein Heinrich von Staden and Michael Ertmann are named as commanders.

15 Biskup, *Gdańska flota*, p. 30; see HU, 8, no. 715.

16 HU, 9, no. 293; Biskup, *Gdańska flota*, p. 47 (stating that Ertmann was sent by the city council); cf. Andreas Kammler, *Up Eventur. Untersuchungen zur Kaperschiffahrt 1471–1512, vornehmlich nach Hamburger und Lübecker Quellen*, Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte, 37, St. Katharinen 2005, p. 82, n. 287.

17 HR, II/6, no. 95, p. 72, no. 96, p. 73.

18 HR, II/6, no. 108 (calendar of letter of 7 September 1468 from Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to King Edward IV of England); Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, 1, Danzig 1913, p. 287. See also: Jörn, "With Money and blood", p. 28.

19 Further complaints: HU, 9, no. 460 (4 June 1468) and no. 682 (14 December 1469) and also HR, II/6, no. 185 and no. 191, paragraph 1; Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 82, n. 287.

Part of the preparations in 1471 would have involved raising a crew for the great caravel. Key members included:²⁰ a skipper, who in this instance was responsible for navigation, a helmsman, a pilot (or possibly pilots), chief boatswain Herman Stutten,²¹ a cook and baker by the name of Herman,²² and ship's carpenter Hans Pale (Palen),²³ who (according to Otto Lienau) had redesigned the ship.²⁴ Another crew member whose name we know was the ship's scribe, Johann.²⁵ Given that the plan was to engage in naval warfare, mercenaries were hired as well as regular seamen, the crew numbering 350 in total.²⁶ We do not know whether or not the mercenaries came from Gdańsk. Comparable sources dating from this time reveal that mercenaries were hired in various Hanseatic towns, including Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen,²⁷ so we cannot rule out that this may also have been the case with the Gdańsk caravel.

Apart from the city council providing remuneration for the crew (and mercenaries),²⁸ another vital task was that of victualling. On 22 May an unspecified sum was spent on cod and salt for the needs of the crew of the great caravel ("Grote krofeel"). Someone identified only as Peter was paid 13½ marks for butter, and 9 marks was used to cover further unspecified expenses.²⁹ The

20 In a letter written in the spring of 1472 Berndt Pawest reported that the skipper, helmsman, pilot, cook and baker had left his service: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/75, no. 244 (printed in HR, II/6, no. 545).

21 HR, II/6, no. 541.

22 HR, II/6, no. 541.

23 HR, II/6, no. 529; see also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 1.

24 HR, II/6, no. 531, letter of 15 November 1471.

25 HR, II/6, no. 531.

26 These crew numbers can be deduced from Berndt Pawest's letters, such as that of 12 March 1472 (HR II/6, no. 540), in which he stated that he had 300–400 people to feed; on this subject see also *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 9 (330 people); cf. Beilage I, p. 94 (350 people).

27 Letter from Berndt Pawest, written towards the end of his tenure as commander and during the enlistment carried out by Paul Beneke.

28 HU, 10, p. 33 makes no mention of this; however, it is clear that mariners were entitled to remuneration by law, whilst payment for mercenaries was a different matter. For comparison we can look at Kammler's findings (*Up Eventur*, pp. 113–21) based on Hamburg sources dating from 1473 and 1492–1496. He cites, for example, that in 1473 a ship's carpenter received 10 schillings a week, while a chief boatswain was paid 12 schillings a week, and occasional bonuses of 3 to 8 schillings. Seamen received slightly lower wages of around 10 schillings a week. Low-ranking crew members such as "Kochknechte, Putker, Jungen" (boy seamen) were each paid 5 schillings a week. Kammler believes that mercenaries were paid a similar wage to seamen, amounting to around 8 schillings. See also *ibid.*, pp. 245–46 and 249–51.

29 HU, 10, p. 33, partially published financial accounts relating to the caravel's repairs and preparation for further seafaring (cf. n. 1). For comparative purposes see Detlev Ellmers, *Einmal Rostock-Malmö und zurück. Die Abrechnung einer Seereise aus dem Jahr 1375*, HGBL, 2008, pp. 247–66, which includes details of expenditure on victualling.

ship was also victualled with flour and peas.³⁰ For his part, Michael Ertmann purchased supplies of beer, bread, meat, butter, fat, oil, cod and flour for the crew (numbers unknown) of his small caravel.³¹ The provisions aboard the great caravel would also have doubtless included beer. Berndt Pawest started replenishing the ship's supplies during the voyage, buying six lasts of meat when passing through The Sound.³²

We do not know what the norms were in terms of rations for soldiers, mercenaries³³ or seamen. We can, however, look for clues in the collected maritime laws of the *Vonnesse van Damme* and the *Book of the Consulate of the Sea*. According to the *Vonnesse van Damme*, seamen from the Brittany coast were to receive one meal a day because they were served wine during the voyage. Meanwhile Normans were entitled to two meals a day because they only drank water.³⁴ The *Book of the Consulate of the Sea* stipulated that the ship's patron was responsible for feeding the crew: they were to have meat three times a week (on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays), and be provided with soup on the remaining days, bread every evening and wine three times a week. The bread was to be served with onions or sardines or another type of fish. On holidays, rations were to be doubled, though if the sailor did not sleep aboard ship, the patron was not obliged to provide him with food.³⁵ It seems that the daily menu aboard the

30 HR, II/6, no. 541.

31 HU, 10, p. 33.

32 This comes to light in a letter of 14 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 541.

33 On the subject of purchases made to maintain the garrison of mercenaries at the castle in Lidzbark Warmiński in 1473 see Beata Możejko, "Koszty utrzymania zamku w Lidzbarku Warmińskim w 1473 r.", in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, eds. Jerzy Strzelczyk and Józef Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 493–507, which shows that around 88 marks went on providing food and drink (beer, wine, fish, fat) between October 1472 and December 1473 for around 22 troops. See also interesting remarks made by Jan Szymczak, "Grzyby, ryby i polewki na średniowiecznym stole i w kotle obozowym", in: *In memoriam honoremque Casimiri Jasińskiego*, eds. Jarosław Wenta and Piotr Oliński, Toruń 2010, pp. 193–206.

34 *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, ed. Bernard Janik, Gdańsk 1961, pp. 104–05, no. 17, and p. 226: in Hanseatic circles beer replaced wine. See also Stanisław Matysik, "Gdańska ordynacja prawa morskiego z początków XVI wieku", *Przegląd Zachodni*, 5–6, 1952, pp. 211–12, wherein reference is made to two meals and cured meat. Ewa Łączyńska, "Na co dzień i od święta – menu gdańskich ludzi morza w XVIII wieku", in: *Historia naturalna jedzenia. Między antykiem a XIX wiekiem*, ed. Beata Możejko, in collaboration with Ewa Barylewska-Szymańska, Gdańsk 2012, pp. 293–94.

35 *Konsulat morski według wydania barcelońskiego z 1494 r.*, ed. Kazimierz Libera, Warsaw 1957, pp. 186–97. This menu resembles the bill of fare guaranteed to pilgrims sailing to the Holy Land. According to the terms of contracts concluded with ships' patrons, pilgrims were to receive two meals a day consisting of good bread, wine, fresh meat and eggs; the reality of what was actually served to them at sea was often quite different: hard, stale

great caravel consisted primarily of bread, meat, fats and fish (most probably cod and herring) on fast days, whilst the fundamental drink (other than water) must have been beer.³⁶

On 5 August 1471 preparations for Gdańsk's warships to leave port were almost complete. It was then that city councillor (and treasurer) Martin Bock gave Berndt Pawest 70 marks for planks, cables and victuals.³⁷ Having learned from the experience of the great caravel's accident in 1462, when her main mast was destroyed, the city authorities made sure that mast timbers (spars) were taken on the voyage. She was also loaded with potash, which served as ballast³⁸ and would have been relatively easy to sell should the need have arisen. Potash was used in the Middle Ages for cleaning sheep's wool³⁹ and was an important ingredient in the production of gunpowder.

We do not know what the total cost of overhauling and victualling the caravel came to, though later sources indicate that 300 crowns were spent on refitting her as a warship.⁴⁰ However, it has to be remembered that practically since

bread, stale water and warm, sour wine. The basic foodstuffs provided for pilgrims aboard ships were rusks, dried fruit, almonds, cheese, salted fish, broad beans and chicken. See Halina Manikowska, *Jerozolima-Rzym-Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 105–06; cf. Wojciech Mruk, *Pielgrzymowanie do Ziemi Świętej w drugiej połowie XIV wieku*, Kraków 2001, pp. 163–64, on food supplies purchased for voyages to the Holy Land; see also Andrea Denke, "Venedig als Station und Erlebnis auf den Reisen der Jerusalem-pilgere im späten Mittelalter", *Historieo*, 4, 2001, p. 72, for more about contracts with ships' patrons regarding regular food and drink, and victualling for sea voyages, pp. 81–82. Purchases made for Prince Albrecht von Sachsen's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1476, in the company of 100 people, included pork (around half a kilogram per person), sausage, salted beef, chicken, 9000 eggs, fish such as sturgeon, pike, salted and smoked cod, butter, oil, apples, nuts, raisins, honey, vinegar and spices, with wine for drinking. An example of the fact that privateer crews were fed a far more modest diet comes from a statement of expenses for victualling a ship from Lübeck in 1510; see also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, pp. 258–60, where bread, pork fat and other fats are listed among the main provisions bought for privateer warships. See also Simon Spalding, *Food at sea. Shipboard cuisine from Ancient to Modern Times*, New York – London 2014, pp. 1–23.

36 It is also worth noting the remarks made by Walther Vogel (*Geschichte der deutschen Seeschifffahrt, 1 (Von der Urzeit bis zum Ende des XV Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1915 [1973 reprint], p. 453) in discussing the Hanseatic legal regulations of 1530 concerning rations aboard ships on fast days (fish: cod and herring) and meat days.

37 HU, 10, p. 33, n. 2.

38 HR, II/6, no. 530, letter of 15 November 1471: mention is made of masts and potash serving as ballast. See also Hirsch, op. cit., p. 255, citing prices for a last of potash in Flanders during the 1430s (around 14–19 marks) and the price fetched by a mast in Poland in 1430 (6 marks) – p. 254.

39 *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, p. 225.

40 However, it is not clear whether these costs were incurred by the Bruges Kontor or by Gdańsk; see Berndt Pawest's letter of 15 November 1471: HR, II/6, no. 530.

August 1464 the caravel had been deteriorating in the port, and much of the work she required probably had to be done from scratch.

It is difficult to determine from the sources whether dispatching the two caravels was part of a larger plan devised by Gdańsk for several of their privateer vessels to join forces at sea, maybe even with other vessels from Hanseatic towns involved in the war against England. There is no doubt, however, that the municipal authorities would have turned to those privateers from Gdańsk who had already seen action in the Baltic and North Seas,⁴¹ hence in particular Paul Beneke,⁴² Martin Bardewig and Eler Bokelman. Two other Hanseatic privateers who were also operating in the North Sea at around this time were Jacob Heyne and Heinrich Nigebecker (Nuwebacker), though rather than targeting the English or the French, they had been focusing on Breton shipping, which was neutral in terms of Hanseatic interests.⁴³ We know that on 8 June 1471 a joint attack was planned involving the two caravels from Gdańsk and a warship commanded by Eler Bokelman. Bokelman had been operating off the English coast and staying in Bruges, where he had sought the help of the Bruges *Kontor's* aldermen in obtaining a letter of safe conduct from Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (granted in July 1471) for the crew of the great caravel.⁴⁴ On 8 June 1471 the city treasury of Gdańsk paid out 115½ marks and 4 *skojecs* for Eler Bokelman and 57 marks and 1 *skojec* for his crew; this money was to be handed over by Michael Ertmann on his arrival in Bruges.⁴⁵ It appears that talks about a joint operation were also held with Lübeck and Hamburg.⁴⁶

The two caravels eventually set sail from Gdańsk on 19 August 1471.⁴⁷ The great caravel had retained St Peter as her namesake, but had been renamed

41 See Chapter 1. A letter of 20 October 1471 from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk reveals that one Merkes Symon had also launched an attack in the North Sea, seizing an English ship near the port of Veere: HR, II/6, no. 529; cf. p. 339, n. 1.

42 The idea of working with Paul Beneke is also alluded to in Berndt Pawest's letters: HR, II/6, no. 530 and 531.

43 On Heyne and Nigebecker's actions see also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, p. 103, which states that they were privateers from Gdańsk.

44 HR, II/6, no. 529 (letter of 20 October 1471 from Berndt Pawest to the city council of Gdańsk).

45 HU, 10, p. 33.

46 This is suggested by later correspondence (see below).

47 This date (cited in *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 9) is confirmed by Berndt Pawest's letter of 12 March 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 540), in which he records that he has served on the caravel for 30 weeks. Calculations based on chronological tables reveal that from a start date of 19 August 1471 Pawest's 30th week of service would indeed have ended on 12 March 1472 (Easter 1471 – 14 April; Easter 1472 – 29 March; 19 August – Monday; 12 March – Thursday). The fact that Berndt Pawest was scrupulous in his calculations is attested by his letter of 6 March 1472, in which he recounts that the two caravels had set out on the campaign

Peter van Danczk,⁴⁸ meaning *Peter von Danzig*. Berndt Pawest was accompanied on this voyage by his son Hans,⁴⁹ and by Jorden van der Oszte and Johann Krieges (probably merchants) as well as by someone of whom all we know is that his name was Matcz (Maciej).⁵⁰ This last individual must have been well known to the city council of Gdańsk given that in a letter to the council Pawest referred to him solely by his forename. Both ships headed for the North Sea, to the Dutch (Flemish) ports. We do not know the navigational details of their journey, but it is highly likely that Berndt Pawest would have used the knowledge he had acquired from Hamburg's *Das Seebuch* (1470) to help him plot a course across the North Sea,⁵¹ though whether or not he had a copy of this handbook aboard ship is another matter. Naturally, the course taken by the two warships took them through The Sound,⁵² where Pawest purchased the aforementioned six lasts of meat,⁵³ probably paying for them out of the 70 marks he had been given on 5 August.

Whilst the two warships were at sea a meeting took place in Lübeck on 25 September 1471, attended by representatives from the host city, Hamburg, Rostock and Wismar, though for some unknown reason there were no delegates from Gdańsk. One of the subjects discussed at this meeting was that of relations with the Duchy of Burgundy. It was decided that master Nicolaus Cunonis (Claeysa Cuene), secretary of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges,⁵⁴ would be sent

against England on 5 January 1472, and that it had lasted for nine weeks (the nine weeks coming to an end on 6 March): HR, II/6, no. 538. This confirms that the timeline presented by Caspar Weinreich is reliable, and also suggests that Pawest must have been keeping records of some sort (possibly a diary). The fact that the great caravel was accompanied by a small caravel commanded by Martin Ertmann is borne out by a letter of 15 November 1471: HR, II/6, no. 531; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II.

48 This name appears in Berndt Pawest's letters: HR, II/6, nos. 540 and 541; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage I, p. 94, Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 20.

49 HR, II/6, no. 531.

50 Ibidem.

51 Albrecht Sauer, *Das "Seebuch". Das älteste erhaltene Seehandbuch und die spätmittelalterliche Navigation in Nordwesteuropa*, Hamburg 1996, p. 105 (wherein there is a list of the geographical terms used both in *Das "Seebuch"* and in Berndt Pawest's letters), pp. 106–07.

52 Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 21) stated (though without citing a source) that the ships followed a course from the Baltic – to Bornholm Island – to The Sound, which was to have taken two weeks, thereafter sailing along the German coast to the North Sea and Holland, finally reaching Bershuck, a Zealand port near Veere, in late September.

53 This transpires from a letter of 14 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 541.

54 On the subject of Cunonis see Renée Rößner, *Hansische Memoria in Flandern – Alltagsleben und Totengedenken der Osterlinge in Brügge und Antwerpen (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, (Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 15: Hansekaufleute in Brügge, Teil 5), Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 316–17.

to Gdańsk to discuss the issue of customs levied on Hanseatic merchants in Bruges. The ban on trade in English cloth was also addressed.⁵⁵ Other sources indicate that during his stay in Gdańsk master Nicolaus was given a letter (of which no details are known) from Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to King Louis XI.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the day after the feast of St Hedwig, hence on 16 October, after 58 days at sea, both of the Gdańsk caravels called at a port whose name Berndt Pawest recorded as Berszhuck,⁵⁷ a harbour on the northern headland of Walcheren Island,⁵⁸ on the waterway leading to the port of Veere (Walcheren is presently connected with Brabant by polders and dykes). (Map 1)

By this time, now several weeks into their voyage, neither of the two warships was in prime condition. It seems that some form of damage may have been incurred given that their intended destination was probably Bruges, yet Berndt Pawest decided not to make this last short stretch of the journey and to call instead at one of the ports on the Zwin estuary, which connected Bruges with the North Sea. One of these ports, which served Bruges, was Sluis.⁵⁹ (Map 2) However, the ships suffered further damage during their stay in Berszhuck. Berndt Pawest reported that foul weather and the harbour's inadequate protection from storms were the main reasons why it did not provide safe refuge.⁶⁰ Storm waves pounded the shore and flooded it ("mer to legem water so breg de wage upp dem sande"), and water lashed by high winds was driven into the great caravel, which had been secured using four anchors.⁶¹

55 HR, II/6, no. 470. That same day Lübeck wrote to the duke of Burgundy (see no. 471). Master Nicolaus was sent to Gdańsk from Lübeck on 27 September 1471: HR, II/6, no. 472. See also a letter of 16 November 1471 from Gdańsk to the Wendish towns, which mentions discussions with Nicolaus (HR, II/6, no. 482) and Gdańsk's declaration of 16 November 1471 regarding English and Dutch cloth and customs duties (HR, II/6, no. 483).

56 See below.

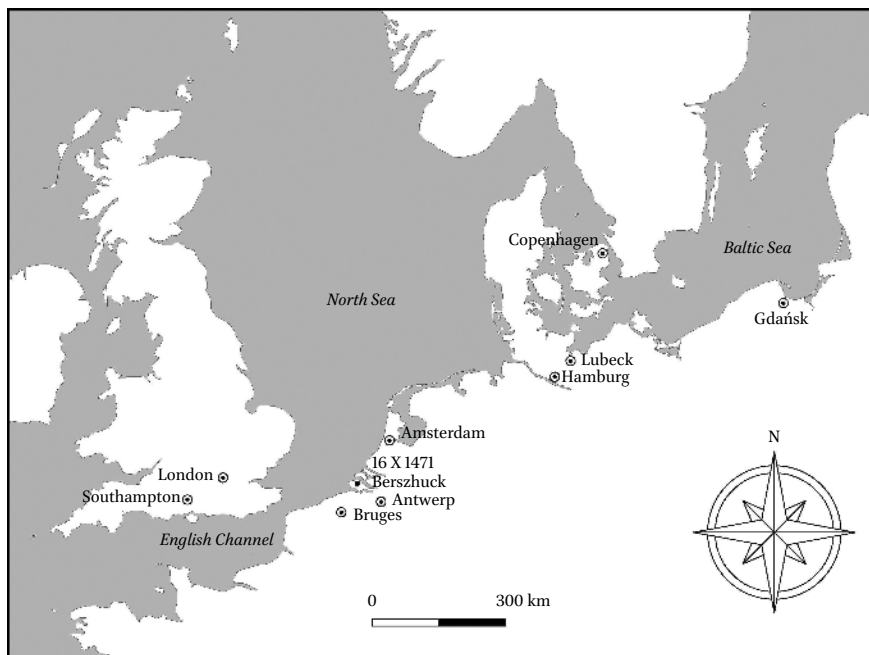
57 This version of the name appears in a letter of 24 November 1471 (HR, II/6, no. 532): "dat wy nach upp dessen hwdigen dach liggen tho Berszhuck". The name given in the index and calendars of HR, II/6 is "Bershuk", but the spelling used in Pawest's letters is "Berszhuck".

58 The editors of HR, II/6 identified the port of Bershuck as follows: "Niderlande, no. dl, Vorgebrige der Insel Walcheren, am Veerghate". Meanwhile HU, 10, no. 385, refers to "Bershuk": cf. footnote 1, Bershuk (Bareshoucke).

59 On the significance of Sluis to Bruges see Raymond de Roover, *Money, banking and credit in mediaeval Bruges*, Massachusetts 1948, pp. 178–79; for an earlier account of the role played by ports on the Zwin estuary (including Sluis), see Antoine De Smet, "L'Origine des portes du Zwin. Damme, Mude, Monnikerede, Hoeke et Sluis" in: *Etudes d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, Brussels 1937, pp. 125–41.

60 This is brought up in one of his later letters. On the bad reputation of Dutch ports see Vogel, op. cit., p. 534, n. 2, mentioning complaints about the port of Damme and other Flemish ports based on earlier Hanseatic reports (from the latter half of the 14th as well as from the 15th century).

61 This is stated in letters of 20 October 1471 and 24 November 1471, in which Berndt Pawest repeats his previous assertions about poor harbour conditions: HR, II/6, nos. 529 and 532.



MAP 1 Berndt Pawest's voyage during the autumn of 1471 – Berszhuck

AUTHOR : PIOTR SAMÓŁ

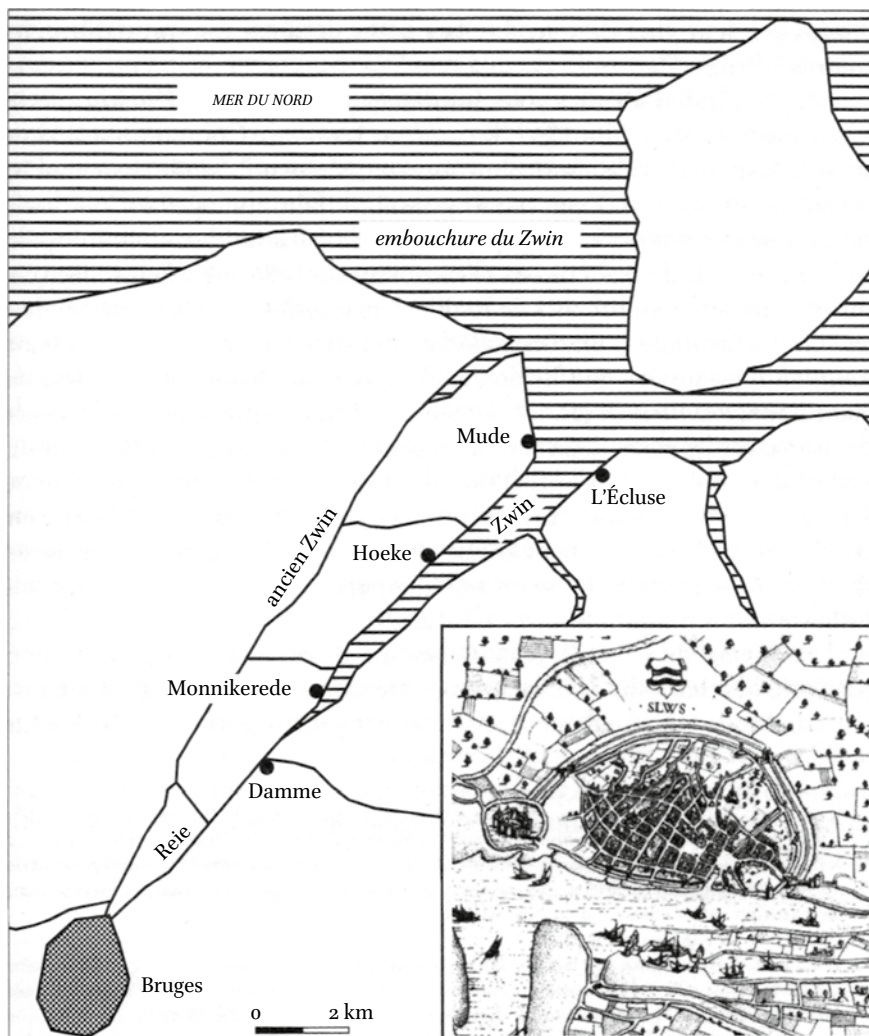
Both Pawest and his crew made efforts to safeguard the ship, hauling aboard her boat (*esping*) for fear of damage by relentlessly high winds.⁶² They also tried to protect her rudder by raising it above the water, though, first and foremost, they put their faith in God.⁶³ It soon proved that, despite these safety measures, the caravel's rudder ended up being damaged. As for the small caravel captained by Michael Ertmann, his crew's armour, victuals and everything else was swept off deck by waves. Payment of the crew's wages and repairs to the small caravel came to a total of 4 pounds groschen (Flemish pounds),⁶⁴ and Pawest helped Ertmann to cover these costs.⁶⁵

62 HR, II/6, no. 529.

63 This measure is first mentioned in a letter of 24 November 1471: HR, II/6, no. 532; however the fact that the rudder was damaged is recorded in a letter of 15 November: HR, II/6, no. 530.

64 The editors of *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik* (p. 13, n. 2) offer the following explanation: a Flemish pound groschen was worth approximately 6–9 marks; see also Vogel, op. cit., p. x: 1 Flemish pound groschen = 20 schillings groschen or 240 pfennigs.

65 *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11; HR, II/6, no. 531 (letter of 15 November 1471); Kammler also refers to the payment mentioned in this letter when writing about the remuneration of privateer crews (*Up Eventur*, p. 116).



MAP 2 The Zwin canal connecting Bruges with the North Sea
*POTRS ET LITTORAUX DE L'EUROPE ATLANTIQUE. TRANSFORMATIONS
 NATURELLES ET AMÉNAGEMENTS HUMAINS (XIV^e–XVI^e SIÈCLES),
 EDS. M. BOCHACA, J.L. SARRAZIN, RENNE 2006, P. 205*

Probably taking advantage of a break in the weather, Hans Palen, the ship's carpenter, carried out an inspection of the great caravel and presented his findings to Berndt Pawest. The major problem was the ship's rudder,⁶⁶ which

66 HR, II/6, no. 530: "dat roder was so meher all wech, de scheren weren baven losz unde haken under water weren entwe, alzo dat mer ein hake geholden hadde".

had most likely been damaged during the sea crossing and may have deteriorated further because of the prevailing conditions in Berszhuck. In addition to the damaged rudder there was also a hole in the hull (possibly a reference to the caulking having failed), some of the rigging had been lost and her stem had been damaged.⁶⁷ Around 20 October Berndt Pawest began experiencing problems with his crew, led by the helmsman, the chief boatswain and the carpenter (probably Hans Palen),⁶⁸ who were constantly demanding food and drink⁶⁹ and ever more money. Pawest was particularly worried by the last of these demands because – as he himself asserted – the English were tempting away mercenaries with promises of higher wages.⁷⁰

During these days, between 16 and 20 October 1471, the Gdańsk privateer Eler Bokelman, who happened to be in Bruges, paid Berndt Pawest a visit aboard his caravel.⁷¹ The aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* had given Bokelman a copy of the safe-conduct granted to Hanseatics by Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, on 12 July 1471,⁷² which he duly handed over to Pawest. The safe-conduct permitted Hanseatic ships, including the caravel, to stop and replenish supplies at ports subject to the duke's authority. For his part, Pawest gave Bokelman some letters of recommendation issued by the city council of Gdańsk, tasking him with delivering them to the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges.⁷³

The meeting between the two commanders, Berndt Pawest and Eler Bokelman, also presented an opportunity to exchange information, among other things about the activities at sea of the Bretons and the Spanish.⁷⁴ Given his plans for naval warfare, Pawest was particularly keen to learn what Bokelman knew of the English. According to Bokelman the first English presence had been noted when four warships had appeared in the Wielingen waterway,⁷⁵ off the coast of Flanders. They were later joined by further vessels to make up a fleet of 15, and had engaged in skirmishes which included an attack on a

67 HR, II/6, no. 530.

68 HR, II/6, no. 529; see also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 1.

69 According to Lienau (*Der Peter*), who concluded from a number of Berndt Pawest's letters that the Gdańsk commander referred to mercenaries as dreadful villains.

70 HR, II/6, no. 529; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage I; Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 23.

71 HR, II/6, no. 314 (letter of marque of 28 April 1470) and *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 6. As an aside, it is also worth noting that in later years Eler's son Anthonis Bouchelman (Bokelmans), who became a magistrate in 1488, and mayor of Gdańsk in 1506, was also active in Bruges; cf. Rößner, op. cit., pp. 292–93; cf. Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy*, II, p. 47.

72 See Chapter 1.

73 HR, II/6, no. 529.

74 HR, II/6, no. 529; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 21.

75 HR, II/6, no. 529; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, p. 103, n. 4.

ship captained by Paul Beneke of Gdańsk.⁷⁶ Berndt Pawest and Eler Bokelman feared that the potential losses inflicted on Gdańsk's forces by these warships could be so great that they would drive up the costs of their campaign against the English. Bokelman believed that France supported the actions of the English.⁷⁷ This last exchange of opinions suggests that neither Eler Bokelman nor Berndt Pawest were aware of the change that had taken place in the political situation. Let us recall that in the summer of 1471 the English throne had been regained by Edward IV, who was at loggerheads with King Louis XI of France, and an ally of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. The support which France had afforded England when Henry VI had been king was now a thing of the past.

After his meeting with Eler Bokelman, Berndt Pawest wrote a letter to the city council of Gdańsk on 20 October 1471, thus beginning a series of regular reports on his deeds as commander of the caravel.⁷⁸

Taking advantage of an invitation from the Hanseatic merchant Albrecht Giese⁷⁹ and Hans (Ian) van der Lucht, alderman of the Bruges *Kontor*,⁸⁰ Berndt Pawest paid an eight-day visit to Bruges.⁸¹ Given that Pawest's next letter to Gdańsk (after the one he wrote in October) was penned on 15 November, just after his eight-day stay in Bruges, he must have arrived in the city on 8 November. Although it was only a short distance from the harbour in Berszhuck to Bruges, the journey had to be made by boat (a small one would probably have sufficed), sailing up the Zwin to reach the city.

Berndt Pawest's son, together with his scrivener Johann, as well as Jordan van der Oszte, Johan Krige and Maciej (Matz) also went on the visit to Bruges.⁸² They were not, however, accompanied by Eler Bokelman, who was ill.⁸³ Berndt Pawest borrowed a shirt and trousers from the two Hanseatics who had invited

76 HR, II/6, no. 529. It seems that news of this event, coupled with Paul Beneke's knowledge and experience, may have inspired Berndt Pawest to seek Beneke's help in conducting naval operations. Kammler also writes of this interest in Paul Beneke: *Up Eventur*, p. 78.

77 HR, II/6, no. 529.

78 HR, II/6, no. 529; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 21.

79 HR, II/6, no. 370, Albrecht Gyszen (Gise) is mentioned in a letter dating from October 1470, when he gave evidence in Antwerp, alongside four other Hanseatic merchants, about a dispute with English merchants.

80 HR, II/6, no. 530; Hans van der Lucht was listed on 7 August 1472 among the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, alongside Johann Duerkop, Johann Eppenschede and secretary Goswin von Cosevelt: HR, II/6, no. 612. For further information about van der Lucht see Rößner, *op. cit.*, pp. 359–60.

81 HR, II/6, no. 531.

82 HR, II/6, no. 531.

83 HR, II/6, no. 530.

him; his own clothes had probably been spoiled during the voyage and, as he himself acknowledged, they could not be worn if he wanted to represent Gdańsk with dignity.⁸⁴

The Gdańsk councillor and commander not only attended a meeting at the Hanseatic merchants' *Kontor* in Bruges, but was also a guest of the local city council.⁸⁵ The visit began (probably on 8 November) with greetings and receptions. The aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* gave a warm welcome to the Gdańsk delegation, serving them sweets and wine,⁸⁶ and Ypoiltus (Ypol) Terrax,⁸⁷ a member of the city council, gave Berndt Pawest "erenwyn"⁸⁸ (erenwin / Ehrenwein), a special kind of "honorary" wine reserved for the council and its guests.⁸⁹ The discussions proper were held during the following days. Berndt Pawest used his meeting with the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* to remind them of his role in the negotiations that had taken place in Lübeck in 1469, and to persuade them to lend their support (probably financial rather than just moral) to the naval effort against the English, whose hostilities towards the Hanse had led to the ban on cloth imports from England.⁹⁰ Pawest contended that having a warship as excellent as the caravel was reason enough for the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to support the war effort, as her upkeep was in the interests of the whole Hanseatic League.⁹¹

The Gdańsk commander of the great caravel also wanted to sound out the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* regarding what to do with his warship once

84 HR, II/6, no. 531: "Vort szo weren se begerede dat ick moeszte antehen langesscheden rocke"; cf. Rößner, op. cit., p. 359 (Hans van der Lucht helped Berndt Pawest acquire the clothes he needed).

85 HR, II/6, nos. 530 and 531. On the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges and its relations with the city see Rößner, op. cit., pp. 72–76. A list of titles broadly relating to the significance of trade in Bruges has been collated by Peter Stabel, "Bruges, plaque tournante du commerce hanséatique avec la France (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)", in: *Les relations entre la France et les villes hanséatiques de Hambourg, Brême et Lübeck: Moyen Âge–XIX^e siècle*, eds. Isabelle Rich-efort and Burghart Schmidt, Collection: Diplomatie et Histoire, 13, 2006, pp. 97–111.

86 HR, II/6, no. 531.

87 According to Rößner (op. cit., pp. 425–26) Ypol was not a Hanseatic but a burgher of either Bruges or Antwerp, who was an employee of the Bruges mint in 1468.

88 HR, II/6, no. 531. Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 21) mentions their visit using a more lyrical tone, recounting that they were received in the city with great honours and generous gifts, and that Berndt Pawest admired the beauty of Bruges. Pawest himself recorded that he was warmly received in Bruges in a letter of 24 November 1471: HR, II 6, no. 532, appendix 1, See also Rößner, op. cit., p. 359.

89 <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~cd2/drw/F4/schilh/g718-719.html>, accessed February 2009.

90 HR, II/6, no. 530.

91 HR, II/6, no. 530.

winter had arrived. He was advised to sail to one of the nearby ports on the Zwin,⁹² where conditions were far better. It appears that Berndt Pawest initially intended to follow this advice, considering it a risk to sail alone (i.e. unaccompanied by another vessel), particularly in winter, when days are short and nights are long.⁹³ He was also hoping to join forces with Paul Beneke and launch a joint attack with him.⁹⁴

Given Berndt Pawest's diplomatic efforts to gain support for the naval campaign, and the fact that he was advised to winter in the Zwin, we can infer that the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* were not convinced at that point that there was any immediate need for military action. This may have been linked to the situation in two other Hanseatic towns, namely, Lübeck and Hamburg, which were still deliberating whether or not to send out a fleet to join the war against England; ultimately, their warships did not set sail until the spring of 1472.⁹⁵

As is widely known, Cologne opposed the war.⁹⁶ Kerstien Qwestenberch, a representative from the city council of Cologne who was on his way to the duke of Burgundy's council, happened to be in Bruges, and so Berndt Pawest used this opportunity to hold talks with him.⁹⁷ Despite the fact that Pawest argued the case against the English, who were supposedly constantly attacking the Hanseatics,⁹⁸ Qwestenberch gave only casual assurances that Cologne sided with Gdańsk.⁹⁹

Considering the results of Berndt Pawest's talks, both with the members of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges and with the envoy from Cologne, it is fair to say that this part of his mission was not particularly successful.

Acting on the advice of the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, and having obtained a safe-conduct issued by the duke of Burgundy, Pawest asked the city authorities of Bruges for permission to stay in their ports (probably with Sluis in mind) and set sail from them. After a two-hour wait he received a positive response and was granted the right to remain in the port for 14 days, and thereafter to stay 6–7 miles from the coast.¹⁰⁰

92 HR, II/6, no. 530.

93 HR, II/6, no. 530: he reported this in a letter of 15 November 1471 to Gdańsk: "dat ick dat schip mochte bringen int Swen, wente wy liggen dar vor der sze allenie unde en qweme vele tydinge wy mochte wal tosehen, unie en dochte ock nich geraden Allenie tho segelen in de szee, de ancht weren lanck unie were Winterach unie de loeszlude untruwe".

94 HR, II/6, no. 530: Pawest is clearly in two minds about what to do and awaits advice.

95 See below.

96 See Chapter 1.

97 This is mentioned in a letter of 2 December 1471 from Veere: HR, II/6, no. 533.

98 HR, II/6, no. 533: "dar weren nach vele lude in Engelandt, do dat gerne gud segen, sunder alleine da van Lwnden begeren des nich".

99 Ibidem.

100 HR, II/6, no. 530.

From the very beginning of his official talks at the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges, Berndt Pawest took steps to try and secure funds for repairing the damaged caravel and for the purchase of victuals. In view of the problems he was experiencing with his crew, he no doubt also needed money to pay their wages. This prompted him to suggest to the aldermen of the *Kontor* that he could sell the potash and mast timbers (spars) that were being carried aboard ship (despite his fears, the ship's masts had not been damaged during the voyage), believing that it would be possible to sell them to Spanish or Breton merchants, given their previous contacts with Gdańsk.¹⁰¹ Initially, he was not granted permission for a direct sale of the potash, though he was allowed to store it at the port of Veere,¹⁰² and to sell it on from there (this possibly had something to do with staple rights and payment of customs duties). However, an agreement was reached and some unnamed merchants promised to pay Pawest a deposit for the potash, which he eventually sold before 24 November.¹⁰³ During his stay in Bruges Berndt Pawest also signed a contract with Johan Bracht of Sluis, who offered him 100 Flemish pounds groschen for the spars, explaining that he was unable to pay more, and that he would not be able to finalise this transaction until Christmas. Pawest accepted this offer rather reluctantly, principally because no others were forthcoming. It was agreed that the spars would be sent to the port of Sluis.¹⁰⁴ Ultimately, however, (before 24 November) even this transaction came to nothing,¹⁰⁵ most probably because the potential buyer was short of money.

During his stay in Bruges Berndt Pawest was relying on the fact that he would shortly receive a deposit of around 40 Flemish pounds groschen for the potash and spars, and thus he borrowed 32 Flemish pounds groschen and 19 *skojecs* from merchants from Ghent, promising to repay them by 6 January (Twelfth Night).¹⁰⁶ He also borrowed a further 45 pounds groschen from the aforementioned Albrecht Gise, Claus Veeren and Valande (probably a reference to Tideman Valandt). There was talk later of a loan of 80 Flemish pounds,¹⁰⁷ which, adding up the sums mentioned here, leaves 2 pounds unaccounted for

101 HR, II/6, no. 530.

102 HR, II/6, no. 530.

103 HR, II/6, no. 532, letter 1 of 24 November 1471.

104 HR, II/6, no. 530.

105 HR, II/6, no. 532.

106 HR, II/6, nos. 530 and 532.

107 This subject is raised in letters of 15 and 26 November 1471: HR, II/6, nos. 530 and 532. Later there is mention of renovation work – construction costs amounted to 300 crowns, but we do not know what period of time this concerns: HR, II/6, no. 530.

(possibly representing accrued interest). Having borrowed 80 pounds, Pawest contributed some 20 pounds of his own money to see to the ship's needs.¹⁰⁸

Berndt Pawest's stay in Bruges came to an end prior to 15 November. Before returning to the caravel he received a copy of a letter of 13 November 1471 from Charles the Bold to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*. In it Charles forbade the sale of food to the enemy and to foreign ships. According to the literature on the subject, this prohibition order also applied to the Hanseatics.¹⁰⁹ Thus the duke's letter was at odds with the safe-conduct he had earlier granted them in July 1471. This (at least partial) change in attitude can be explained by the political upheaval in England, namely the return to power of Edward IV, who was an ally of Charles the Bold. This situation meant that attacks on English shipping were no longer welcomed by the Burgundian ruler.

It was probably while he was still in Bruges that Berndt Pawest heard about the actions of two Gdańsk privateers: Jacob Heyne,¹¹⁰ commander of the hulk *Maria*, and Heinrich Nuwebacker (Neubacker), who accompanied him. They had launched an attack near the Zwin, capturing a small ship belonging to two Bretons on their way to Sluis with a cargo of wine and herring.¹¹¹ Not long afterwards (around 24 November) both the prize vessel and the hulk *Maria* joined the two caravels in Berszhuck.¹¹² It is worth noting that Brittany (a dependent duchy of France, ruled at the time by Duke Francis II) enjoyed good relations with Burgundy while remaining largely neutral towards the Hanse. In practice, however, mutual Hanseatic–Breton raids and robberies sometimes took place.

108 HR, II/6, no. 532.

109 HR, II/6, no. 531, see also no. 506. This letter is also referred to in Berndt Pawest's report of 24 November 1471: HR, II/6, no. 532. On the subject of the ban, based on letters no. 506 and 531 (including a note that the ban applied to the duke's subjects as well as to foreigners), see Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 38, n. 130, p. 39, n. 132 (with reference to no. 532). Kammler also states that this ban was frequently flouted (p. 43, n. 131, based on no. 531) and argues that it also applied to the sale of foodstuffs for Hanseatic ships.

110 Already famed for his earlier exploits, he had sailed (aboard the hulk *Maria*) as part of a large fleet against Warwick in May 1470: Jacques Paviot, *La Politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne 1384–1482*, Lille 1995, p. 164.

111 HR, II/6, no. 532; cf. Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 4, cf. no. 6 (two ships are mentioned, one of which was that seized by the two Gdańsk privateers, whilst the other was Jacob Heyne's own ship – probably the hulk *Maria*); cf. Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 78, n. 265, wherein, based on this same letter, the author writes of the arrest of two Bretons (though no details are given); see also p. 87; n. 301.

112 This can be inferred from Pawest's letter of 24 November 1471: HR, II/6, no. 532.

By 15 November 1471 Berndt Pawest, who was in Berszhuck at the time, was longing to return to Gdańsk.¹¹³ Unfortunately for him he had a caravel to look after and a crew for whom he needed to provide food. During the eight days that Pawest had spent in Bruges his ship's carpenter, Hans Palen, had been busy carrying out vital maintenance and repairs, including the repair of the rudder, for which the Gdańsk commander paid him 2 pounds.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Michael Ertmann's small caravel was in such a bad state that it was decided to put her up for sale rather than repair her.¹¹⁵

Disheartened by escalating problems, at one point Berndt Pawest wrote to the city authorities of Gdańsk that walking home barefoot from Rome would be preferable to his current duties.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, he did not let up in his efforts. Between 15 and 24 November 1471, in addition to the money he had already borrowed, he managed to raise further funds by selling most of the potash at the best price he could get for it (though the actual sum is not recorded). However, some of the money from the sale of the potash must have been used to settle the loan he had already taken out and which had to be repaid by 6 January 1472. Planning to leave Berszhuck, and mindful that the restrictions heralded by the duke of Burgundy's letter of 13 November 1471 would soon come into force, he secured victuals for his crew of over 300 (350),¹¹⁷ purchasing eight lasts of meat at 2 guilders per barrel from someone from Jutland ("Jwtilande" – probably a reference to a ship from Jutland that had docked somewhere near Berszhuck). On 24 November 1471 Pawest admitted that he had only managed to procure half of the food rations needed for his crew.¹¹⁸ Indeed, in December 1471 he bought another eight lasts of meat in the port of Veere.¹¹⁹

113 As stated in his letter of 15 November 1471 to Gdańsk: HR, II/6, no. 530. This wish became a constant theme of his subsequent letters, a fact also noted by Kammler (*Up Eventur*, 78) in a footnote referencing letters HR, II/6, no. 533 f., 540 f., 542, 554, 557 f. I will return to these sources further on.

114 HR, II/6, no. 531 tells us that work on the rudder lasted for eight days and was completed on 15 November. Thus it is not difficult to calculate that it should have started around 8 November, when Pawest was in Bruges.

115 On attempts to sell the caravel see later letters: HR, II/6, no. 535.

116 HR, II/6, no. 532 and *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 1, in which Pawest once again recalls the warm reception he had had in Bruges and the loans he and other Gdańsk citizens had received from local merchants.

117 HR, II/6, no. 532.

118 HR, II/6, no. 532.

119 On the purchase of eight lasts of meat see HR, II/6, no. 534 (December 1471) and no. 541 (the fact that these eight lasts were purchased in Veere is recorded in a letter of 14 March 1472; the visit to Veere took place in December 1471: see below).

On 27 December he concluded that he had enough victuals to last until 2 February. In addition to the meat that Pawest had acquired from the aforementioned seller, he probably also purchased 5½ lasts of herring, six barrels of butter, six blocks of cheese and an unspecified quantity of salmon and eels from the same individual, as well as placing an order for beer. However, he did not manage to buy any “kabbelow” (i.e. *Kabeljau* – Atlantic cod, a fish species found in the northern regions of the North Sea). Using the money from the sale of the potash he also bought more butter and cheese at 7 florins per last.¹²⁰

Planning for the departure from Berszhuck, Berndt Pawest also entered into a contract with two pilots (names unknown), paying them 18 florins (guilders) cash in hand and promising them a monthly wage of 9 guilders.¹²¹ Yet it is difficult to determine exactly what Pawest’s plans were. The preparations he made suggest that, despite his misgivings, he intended to set out to sea again and engage in action against the English.

Whatever the case may have been, on the evening of 24 November Pawest was aboard the great caravel in Berszhuck.¹²² However, by three in the afternoon on the following day he had reached Veere, on Walcheren Island in the province of Zeeland (“ik in sunte Katrynen dage, des namytdages umie de kloke dre quam to der Veer”).¹²³ Pawest’s hasty visit to Veere appears to have been linked to an attack on Breton ships carried out by Jacob Heyne and Heinrich Nagebecker. The Gdańsk commander found out that a large Breton warship had called at the Zwin¹²⁴ and was doubtless rightly concerned that there might be retaliatory actions for the seizure of the Breton prize. Veere (and more broadly Walcheren) was ruled by the admiral of the Burgundian fleet, Heinrich van Borssele (Borselen).¹²⁵ In Holland and Zeeland he was often referred to as an admiral, but his official title was “*Stadtholder* – general and captain of the duke of

¹²⁰ HR, II/6, no. 532; cf. Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 3. The letter mentions 300 mouths to feed aboard the caravel. This letter is brought up by Kammler (*Up Eventur*, p. 78) as an example of Pawest’s efforts to look after the ship.

¹²¹ Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 3; cf. HR, II/6, no. 532 (full text). On the significance and legal framework regulating the work of pilots see Julia Schweitzer, *Schiffer und Schiffmann in den Rôles d’Oléron und mit Libre del Consolat de Mar. Ein Vergleich zweier mittelalterlicher Seerechtsquellen, Rechtshistorische Reihe 331*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 40, 41.

¹²² HR, II/6, no. 532. This date refers to the first part of the letter: “gegeven im carveel tho Bershuck, in sunte Katherinen avend im 71(jar)”.

¹²³ HR, II/6, no. 532, annotation 2, stating that the letter was written on the day after, i.e. 26 November. It is not entirely clear whether Berndt Pawest arrived alone or aboard the caravel, as I originally wrote in the Polish edition of this monograph.

¹²⁴ HR, II/6, no. 532.

¹²⁵ Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, p. 108 n. 3.

Burgundy at sea",¹²⁶ and he was also known as the "lord of Veere". More importantly, Gdańsk's authorities considered the lord of Veere their friend; the city council later thanked him for the help he had given Berndt Pawest.¹²⁷ Pawest himself must have been counting on the lord of Veere's help in solving the dilemma concerning Jacob Heyne and Heinrich Neubecker. For some time Pawest had been contemplating whether to retain their services, even though he was not sure what to expect from them.¹²⁸ He seems to have been worried that they might continue to take independent action. He also intended to use his stay in Veere to sell the spars and spend the money raised on revictualling his ship.

Berndt Pawest met with envoys (a mayor and magistrates) from the lord of Veere. A shrewd solution was found to the problem of Jakob Heyne and Heinrich Nagebacker: on pain of death they were ordered to leave the territories ruled by the lord of Veere, but until they did so they were to remain under the supervision of the quartermaster, i.e. the official in charge of the port. A ban on buying goods stolen from the Breton ship was also announced.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, having sold the spars, Pawest himself was able to revictual in Veere.¹³⁰ He sold 16 spars for 101 pounds, receiving only 6 pounds for another spar, and 20 pounds for cables,¹³¹ meaning that he had a total of 127 pounds groschen at his disposal. He spent 32 pounds of this sum on a further (see above) 8 lasts of meat and 20 pounds of herring, as well as buying some beer.¹³² He also stocked up on gunpowder,¹³³ this purchase clearly indicating his intention to engage in warfare.

126 Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 227. On the subject of the lord of Veere see Paviot, *La politique navale*, index and in particular pp. 38–39, and more recently Mario Damen, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)*, Hilversum 2000, pp. 270–87, pp. 447–48; Borselen Hendrik II van, d. 15 March 1474, with full list of titles and details of offices held in Holland and Zeeland.

127 The city's gratitude is mentioned in a letter of 22 February 1472 from the lord of Veere to Gdańsk. Notably, Berndt Pawest is also referred to therein as "capetain van uwer groten carvele": HR, II/6, no. 522. On Pawest's meeting with the lord of Veere, see also HU, 10, no. 385.

128 HR, II/6, no. 532, annotation 2; cf. Caspar Weinreich, Beilage 11.

129 HR, II/6, no. 532, annotation 2.

130 Pawest wrote about the sale of these spars in a letter of 20 December 1471, whilst in Berschuk, without specifying whether the sale had been made in Veere (HR, II/6, no. 534); however, given his later statement (March 1472) about having purchased meat in Veere (HR, II/6, no. 541), there can only be one logical conclusion.

131 He remarked in a letter that the items had not fetched a particularly high price.

132 HR, II/6, no. 534 (when writing to Gdańsk, he commented that the ship is large rather than small, doubtless alluding to the fact that she also had a large crew who needed feeding).

133 HR, II/6, no. 534; his letter of 20 December also included an annotation made on 24 December referring to his endeavours concerning the ship, but this was not fresh news.

Having received word that the aforementioned Breton ship had sailed from the Zwin to Bremen, Pawest was unsure whether to set sail alone or to remain in port (probably still Berszhuck).¹³⁴

The problem regarding the two Gdańsk privateers threatened with the death penalty, the uncertainty about whether to remain in port (Berszhuck), unfavourable winds, the growing costs of the caravel's repairs and the crew's upkeep, were a constant source of concern and anxiety for Pawest,¹³⁵ all the more so given that he was not receiving any news or letters from Gdańsk.¹³⁶

On 2 December 1471 Berndt Pawest was still in Veere.¹³⁷ He finally returned to Berszhuck, where he wrote successive letters to Gdańsk on 20 and 24 December 1471.¹³⁸ His plans to set out to sea were hindered both by the weather (westerly winds), and, as it turned out, by the need for further repairs to the ship's rudder. Pawest hired a pilot recommended to him by the late Johan Herverd. Although the pilot could not, or would not, speak German,¹³⁹ he nevertheless did a good job, since on 2 January 1472 Pawest paid him 27 guilders for "day-to-day work at the helm" as well as his monthly wage of 27 guilders.¹⁴⁰

Jacob Heyne took command of the Breton prize, selling his hulk to Berndt Pawest prior to 27 December. The hulk was taken over by Michael Ertmann, who stocked up on food and gunpowder.¹⁴¹ We do not know what became of the other privateer, Jacob Heyne's companion Heinrich Nagebacer. It is only from later accounts that we can infer that he was involved in attacks on Breton shipping in early 1472.

Up until 27 December 1471 all efforts to sell Michael Ertmann's small caravel had ended in failure.¹⁴² Around 1 January 1472 Pawest and Ertmann managed to find a buyer willing to pay 10 Flemish pounds groschen for this warship, but in the end even this transaction fell through, probably because of the extent of damage to the ship.¹⁴³

Between 2 and 20 December 1471 prevailing westerly and northerly winds in Berszhuck forced Berndt Pawest to remain at the port. The caravel was tethered

¹³⁴ HR, II/6, no. 532, 2; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage, II, no. 4.

¹³⁵ HR, II/6, no. 532, 2.

¹³⁶ HR, II/6, no. 532, 2.

¹³⁷ HR, II/6, no. 533.

¹³⁸ HR, II/6, no. 534.

¹³⁹ HR, II/6, no. 532, 2. p. 493.

¹⁴⁰ HR, II/6, no. 537.

¹⁴¹ HR, II/6, nos. 534, 535, 536.

¹⁴² HR, II/6, no. 535.

¹⁴³ HR, II/6, no. 536. In this letter Pawest gives a positive account of the help he received from the lord of Veere; see also Beilage II, no. 8, which includes an excerpt translated into modern German. HR, II/6, no. 537, *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 9.

by four anchors, with a fifth ready to be used, and the ship's boat stowed on deck.¹⁴⁴

At this critical time, the crew must have been showing Pawest their very worst side given that he went so far as to refer to them as "quade Buben" ("qwade boven"),¹⁴⁵ meaning "appalling scoundrels". Several members of the crew mutinied; the mutineers were arrested and sent to prison in Middelborch (Zeeland) prior to 27 December 1471.¹⁴⁶ Pawest planned to set out to sea as soon as possible, hoping that the victuals for his 350-strong crew would last until 2 February,¹⁴⁷ hence around 37 days (4 days in December + 31 in January + 2 in February).

Even before the new year had arrived, word spread that a Lombard was interested in buying the great caravel; however, Berndt Pawest denied this in a letter to Gdańsk of 2 January 1472.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it seems that there must have been a grain of truth in these claims, as a Lombard (probably the one already mentioned) later expressed interest not so much in purchasing the caravel as in building a large ship in Gdańsk modelled on it.¹⁴⁹ It was during this same period (i.e. in late December 1471 / early January 1472) that two Spaniards arrived in Berzhuck, ostensibly in search of their brother, but in reality wanting to see the great caravel.¹⁵⁰ Berndt Pawest asked them about various maritime issues, learning that their ship, moored in Hoveden (near England), had lost an anchor and a mast when a storm had hit the port.¹⁵¹ The fact that he was collecting this type of information possibly shows that Pawest was making plans for the next leg of his journey, which had been delayed by the winter weather.¹⁵²

In the meantime Gdańsk was trying to gauge the position of other Hanseatic towns in the war against England. As part of their fact finding, the city council of Gdańsk sent a letter to Lübeck on 13 December 1471 asking why the city had delayed in sending a fleet against the English. They did not receive a reply until late February 1472.¹⁵³ It was roughly at this time that, prompted by

144 HR, II/6, no. 534; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, no. 6.

145 HR, II/6, no. 534, 24 December 1471; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, no. 7.

146 HR, II/6, no. 535.

147 HR, II/6, no. 534.

148 HR, II/6, no. 537.

149 See letter of 10 May: HR, II/6, no. 547; see also *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 12 (1473).

150 HR, II/6, no. 537.

151 Ibidem (annotation featuring reference to God's help/care).

152 HR, II/6, no. 534.

153 This letter from Gdańsk is referred to in Lübeck's reply: HR, II/6, no. 507.

Lübeck's hesitation, Gdańsk sent a letter to Berndt Pawest. We know that he received it through Claus Kocke on 1 January 1472 at 6 pm. Since we know from other sources that this type of message usually took around 20 days to deliver, we can assume that the letter to Pawest was sent around 13 December. There is, however, no record of what was in this letter, and we can only speculate that it recommended he defer his plans for naval action. This is suggested by Pawest's reply, written on 2 January, in which he expressed his regret and complained about having to remain in Berszhuck.¹⁵⁴ In spite of this, several days later he decided to put to sea.

On the evening before the Feast of the Epiphany (i.e. 5 January) 1472 the great caravel set sail from Berszhuck, embarking on a nine-week mission at sea¹⁵⁵ with the principal aim of attacking English ships. She was accompanied by the hulk *Maria*, captained by Michael Ertmann, and by the one-time Breton prize, now under the command of Jacob Heyne.¹⁵⁶ They may also have been joined by a further two warships, both of them commanded by Werner Tubek, a citizen of Nyborg (Funen, Denmark). This is implied in a letter of 6 March 1483 from Jost, count of Villers-en-Haye, who wrote to the city council of Gdańsk appealing for compensation for Werner Tubek. Several years earlier Tubek had apparently been "forced" to take part in Berndt Pawest's naval expedition against England and France. This had resulted in his being taken into captivity by the French and spending four years in a foreign prison.¹⁵⁷ Tubek himself had gone to Gdańsk with the count's letter along with a letter of recommendation from the city council of Nyborg, issued on 12 March 1483 (which also referred to his participation in the expedition and its consequences).¹⁵⁸ Although Berndt Pawest never mentioned that Tubek had been involved in this mission, there is no reason to disbelieve the account dating from 1483, which is consistent with the course of events both in terms of chronology and context.

¹⁵⁴ HR, II/6, no. 537: Pawest wrote his reply on 2 January 1472, complaining about the prolonged stay in Berschuck, about the crew, and about problems with the ship's anchor, though "God helped with the rudder".

¹⁵⁵ HR, II/6, no. 338; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 23 (excerpts of the same letter translated into modern German). A very brief summary of this episode is provided by Otto Held, "Die Hanse und Frankreich von der Mitte des 15. Jh. bis zum Regierungstritt Karls VIII", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 18, 1912, pp. 121–237, pp. 221–22; see also Beata Możejko, "Wykorzystanie energii wiatru i rola żagli na przykładzie karaweli 'Peter von Danzig' z drugiej połowy XV wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 3–4, 2008, pp. 300–02, see also Możejko, *From Baltic to the North Sea*, pp. 316–327.

¹⁵⁶ HR, II/6, no. 338.

¹⁵⁷ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/22, no. 138.

¹⁵⁸ AP Gdańsk, 300 D/13, no. 158.

Sailing in light winds, within eight days (hence around 13 January) the fleet reached Hoveden in the Dover Strait,¹⁵⁹ then proceeded past the Downs, a roadstead off the south-east coast of England (near South Foreland), arriving somewhere in the vicinity of Dover.¹⁶⁰ When the weather changed, the wind was harnessed to sail along the English coast, passing Plymouth,¹⁶¹ and continuing for the next few days (up to 19 January) between Plymouth and the Passage du Fore, hence the channel to the east of Ushant (Ouessant) Island off the Breton coast, and then passing between Sillon (i.e. the Scilly Isles off England's south-west coast) and Heyszand (i.e. Ushant) Island (off the coast of Brittany).¹⁶² Thus, the ships made somewhat erratic progress, sailing back and forth: from the English coast near Plymouth to the shores of Brittany, then back again towards the English (Cornish) Isles of Scilly, before heading once again in the direction of the Breton coast and Ushant Island. Pawest himself briefly explained these tactics: his intention was to reveal the fleet to the English and then hide from them.¹⁶³ (Map 3)

Sailing in the direction of Brest (from the English coast towards Brittany),¹⁶⁴ amid great tension the seamen kept a constant lookout¹⁶⁵ for the enemy "to the best of their abilities". As she approached the English coast the caravel heralded her presence both day and night with flames and smoke, firing at any enemy vessels sighted. The English response to the tactics adopted by the Hanseatic fleet (revealing itself and then disappearing out of view) was to send out

159 For clarification of the fact that this was a reference to the "Strasse von Calais" see Hirsch and Vossberg, *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, p. 109, n. 2; on the same topic see also HR, II/6, no. 538 and footnote: "und wy legen in den Hoveden und Dwnisz und ummeternt Daveren tho halver szez 8 dage lanck".

160 HR, II/6, no. 538 and editors' footnote; cf. Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 23), who claimed that the stretch in question lay between Calais and the Isle of Wight. This seems rather too vague, given that this island lies near the English Channel, several kilometres south of the Hampshire coast.

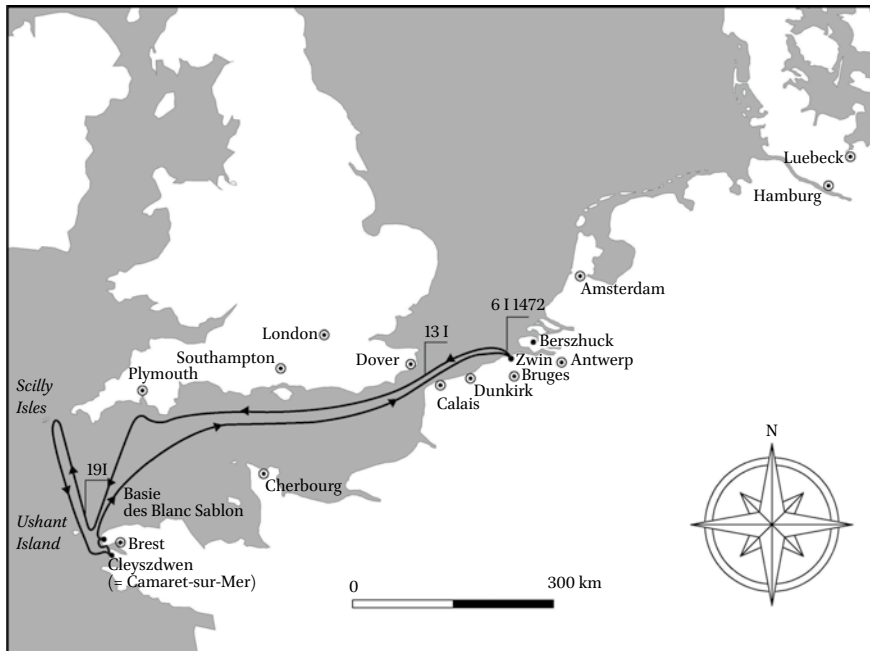
161 HR, II/6, no. 538: letter of 6 March 1472, written from the Zwin. After this last passage of text there appears to be an annotation that they remained between "der Fore und Ploy-mode" and between "Szele" and "Heyszande" for eight days, this being a reference to "die Passage du Four", east of "der Insel Ouessant, die Scilly Inseln und Inseln Oussant an der Kuste der Bretagne": HR, II/6, no. 538, n. 6; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, p. 109, wherein the main text includes the following passage: "twuschen der fore und ploymode uund twussech szele uund heyszande wal viii dage lanck". See also Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

162 These clarifications are provided by the editors of *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, p. 109, n. 6. (cf. HR, II/6, no. 538, citing a slightly shorter version of this text).

163 These tactics are described in Pawest's letter: HR, II/6, no. 538.

164 Cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, no. 10, n. 8.

165 Pawest does not give a chronology of these events, or state how long each successive phase took.



MAP 3 The caravel's voyages during January–March 1472

AUTHOR: PIOTR SAMÓŁ

fishing-boat patrols and be “as watchful as they could”.¹⁶⁶ Ultimately, there was no clash at sea with the English, and even though as soon as they heard or saw an enemy ship the fleet commanded by Berndt Pawest set their sails and demonstrated their readiness to do battle, their opponents were “so very afraid of us that they would back down and give up or put out to sea with the wind”.¹⁶⁷

However, a tremendous storm struck, bringing foul weather, hail and snow. Conditions were so bad that the caravel lost sight of Michael Ertmann's ship. This appears to have happened somewhere near Brest. Berndt Pawest had no idea where his companion had got to and could only presume that he had sailed west (probably to the west coast of France/Brittany). Other sources reveal that after having lost contact with the great caravel, Ertmann joined forces with another skipper from Gdańsk (Martin Bardwick) and together they had

¹⁶⁶ HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. translation into modern German in Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 23–24.

¹⁶⁷ HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24. It is also worth referring to Michał Tymowski's article about the emotions elicited by the sea during the 15th century: “Strach i odwaga w czasie pierwszych wypraw europejskich do Afryki w XV w.”, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 2006, 2, pp. 333–45.

launched an attack on Breton ships.¹⁶⁸ During this storm the great caravel lost her *esping* (ship's boat), and her own foredeck ("Bogendecke rove")¹⁶⁹ was damaged, hence it is no surprise that efforts were made to call at one of the Breton ports, which were relatively neutral. Repairs had to be carried out and victuals replenished, the supplies which had been taken on in Berzchuck and Veere having been calculated to last until early February.

From Trade (i.e. Fahrwasser vor Brest) the caravel and other warships accompanying her sailed to the French port of Camert- sur- Mer, two miles south-east of St Matthew's Point (off the Breton coast), and was towed into port.¹⁷⁰ While entering the port Berndt Pawest marvelled at the beauty of the massive waves.¹⁷¹ The caravel and Jacob Heyne's ship stopped at this port for several days, stocking up on fresh water and buying wine, the cost of which Pawest later bitterly complained about. He had to pay 17 francs for a barrel of wine, not including additional costs and excise duties charged by the quartermaster.¹⁷² Work was carried out to repair a damaged cabin.¹⁷³ Once these repairs had been completed the fleet moved on towards St Matthew's Point ("wedder nach Sunte Maties huke").¹⁷⁴ A brief stop was made near this headland, hoping for an opportunity to capture some loot. Berndt Pawest was also awaiting the arrival of the Breton ships he had passed on the way so that he could quiz them about the English and French fleets. The Bretons, who did indeed reach St Matthew's Point at around this time, claimed that the English and French were well aware of the caravel's whereabouts, but had turned their ships – which the Bretons had spotted at sea – back to port, and none dared set sail again. This last remark confirms the impact made by the appearance of the caravel.¹⁷⁵

Heartened by this information, Pawest launched a further offensive together with the Breton ships he had encountered¹⁷⁶ and with Jacob Heyne's warship, which had accompanied him throughout. They managed to surprise

168 See below, HR, II/6, no. 555.

169 Johann Heinrich Röding, *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Marine*, II (L–Z.), p. 394: *Roof* – the place where the crew's berths were located.

170 HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, pp. 23–24, wherein we read that the place in question was Croisil. Meanwhile the editors of HR wrote that "de Rade de Camaret" lay two miles south-east of the port of "S. Matthieu".

171 HR, II/6, no. 538.

172 HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

173 HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

174 HR, II/6, no. 538, n. 10, featuring the following clarification: "Vorgebirge S. Matthieu, die westlichste Spitze des Eingangs nach Brest".

175 HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

176 The Bretons' participation is suggested by the further course of events.

the French ship *Valentyn*,¹⁷⁷ anchored off the port of “Kakyt”, otherwise known as Le Conquet – the port serving St Matthew’s Point.¹⁷⁸ Despite the lengthy resistance put up by her French crew, the ship was eventually boarded and captured. Initially, the equipment and goods from the seized vessel (including a sail) were taken ashore, leaving only the anchor on board. However, during the division of the spoils, Pawest decided to keep the entire prize for himself. He therefore bought out his crew’s share of the loot, paying for the sail and small boat which the Bretons had been allotted, and purchased over 40 barrels of wine (some of them on credit) from Jacob Heyne.¹⁷⁹

Heyne was keen to build on the success of this raid by attempting to gain further prizes, and urged that they should now attack Breton ships. Pawest, however, refused to agree to this, using the excuse that he had received no instructions on this matter from Gdańsk.¹⁸⁰ This episode spelled the end of their collaboration; later accounts indicate that Heyne did not give up his plans.¹⁸¹ He left Pawest and linked up with vessels commanded by his former companion Henrick Neubecker and by a third person of whom all we know is that his name was Werner Cubick. They carried out joint raids near the aforementioned Camaret-sur-Mer, mostly targeting French shipping. However, fate decreed that they were captured by the very same Bretons whom they (Heyne and Neubecker) had attacked in late 1471. All three men (Jacob Heyne, Henrick Neubecker and Werner Cubick) were imprisoned in the Breton port of Dinan, 4 miles from Saint-Malo.¹⁸² The Bretons demanded 1050 crowns for their release as compensation for the ship and her cargo.¹⁸³ It is not inconceivable that Werner Cubick may have been the self-same citizen of Nyborg who petitioned for compensation in 1483 (though the latter claimed to have been captured by Frenchmen rather than Bretons).

After the capture of the French *Valentyn*, the great caravel made a four/five-day stop at Blankeshagen (Baie von Blanc Sablon, north of Le Conquet),¹⁸⁴ and

177 We learn of the ship’s name in Berndt Pawest’s letter to Gdańsk of 8 April 1472: HR, II/6, no. 542.

178 HR, II/6, no. 538, n. 11.

179 HR, II/6, no. 546. On the subject of this wine see also the letter of 8 April 1472: HR, II/6, no. 543.

180 HR, II/6, no. 538; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24, see also O. Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 221.

181 HR, II/6, no. 545; cf. below.

182 HR, II/6, no. 545; letter from Berndt Pawest, April 1472; and no. 546: letter from the three prisoners to Berndt Pawest asking for his help.

183 Ibidem, no. 545; cf. letter no. 546, wherein mention is made of a sum of 860 crowns, thereafter referring to 40 crowns for wine and 160 crowns for the ship, amounting to a total of 1060 crowns.

184 HR, II/6, no. 538, p. 500, n. 1.

from there continued to prowl the English Channel in search of fresh targets. She managed to accost six ships belonging to “people from Fowey” (Fowey, west of Plymouth)¹⁸⁵ and, as Berndt Pawest himself wrote in a letter to Gdańsk they tried to “hunt them down”, but the enemy vessels were faster¹⁸⁶ and managed to escape. A “hunt” of this sort lasted three days: enemy ships would sail up to the caravel at night, and then in the morning the caravel would set off in pursuit of them, but to no avail.¹⁸⁷ It seems that the size of the caravel made her difficult to manoeuvre. She looked very imposing, but was unable to successfully chase down smaller vessels.

On the night of 22 February 1472 misfortune befell the warship when, in unknown circumstances, her hull was breached and she sprang a serious leak. Water was pumped out of the stricken vessel all night but to little effect, and the leak worsened to the point that the commander and crew began to fear that they would go down.¹⁸⁸ Sailing into the wind, Berndt Pawest tried to steer the caravel to the English coast, somewhere near the Downs “so that the ship and crew would reach England and their lives be saved”.¹⁸⁹ The leaks were plugged with whatever came to hand: towels, cloth, hair and a sack full of grain, and the frames were filled with wood chips, moss and tar.¹⁹⁰ The ship’s bonnet sail (*Bonnytsegel*) was also set. Sometime between the 22 and 28 February the caravel reached the Downs, but conditions there proved to be even worse than on the open sea. The ship dropped one anchor and then a further two; ultimately, all three were lost during this stop.¹⁹¹ Another heavy storm hit on 28 February, during which the ship’s anchor failed to hold and the wind began to push her landwards.¹⁹² Efforts were made to present her side to the wind so that she could sail away,¹⁹³ and her jib and mainsail were set. Initially,

185 Ibidem, no. 538, p. 500, n. 1.

186 HR, II/6, no. 538, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

187 HR, II/6, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

188 HR, II/6, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 24.

189 HR, II/6, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 25.

190 HR, II/6, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 25.

191 HR, II/6, p. 500; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 25.

192 HR, II/6, no. 538; on this subject based on the same source see also Możejko, *Wykorzystanie*, pp. 301–02; on pumps see Frank Howard, *Sailing ships of war, 1400–1860*, Greenwich 1979; Ian Friel, *The good ship. Ships, shipbuilding and technology in England, 1200–1520*, London 1995, pp. 127–28.

193 This is claimed by the editors of HR, II/6, no. 538, p. 500, n. 10 based on Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 10, n. 11; on this manoeuvre see also Vogel, op. cit., p. 516, n. 2; Heinrich Winter, *Das Hanseschiff im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert (Die letzte Hanseskogge)*, Rostock 1961, p. 22. According to Winter the ship was sailing without her mizzen, though this would not have prevented her from sailing given a favourable wind. He was surprised that the ship had initially been sailing under only her jib, as this meant that she could only

however, the caravel would not budge; the crew were unable to turn her, and she drifted towards the shore. It was only during a subsequent attempt that they managed to turn the ship and set out to sea. Berndt Pawest later admitted in a letter that they had been helped in their endeavours by the Lord Almighty and by the great lord of the seas, St James.¹⁹⁴ A strong northerly wind was harnessed to propel the ship on her onward course, though she was evidently still taking on water given that two pumps were in use (the third one having broken down) but rooms aboard the ship were still 4 ells deep in water. Three or four pieces of sail canvas were used to try and plug the leak. The struggle to keep the water out lasted all night, with a pump in constant use. The ship's carpenter (probably a reference to Hans Pale) distinguished himself on that night. Finally, they managed to reach the Zwin, Pawest recording that they felt as if they had been "born again", and attributing their good fortune to the grace of God, who had come to their aid and helped bring the ship to her destination despite her damaged state.¹⁹⁵ There is no doubt that it was only thanks to the treacherous weather that the caravel was not attacked by English ships when she stopped along their native coast.

By 6 March 1472 the caravel had already reached the port of Sluis ("Slus int Swen"),¹⁹⁶ where Berndt Pawest wrote a lengthy account of his nine weeks at sea.¹⁹⁷ He explained to the city council of Gdańsk that he had done what he could and that both the crew and God had helped him in this. He also promised to tell them what had happened in full detail when he returned and requested help with matters at his own home, which he had thought of every night since he had first set out to sea.¹⁹⁸ In a letter of 12 March he admitted that he had failed to seek out and engage the enemy, and had retreated not because of a shortage of victuals, but because of the damage to his ship.¹⁹⁹

Although the mission carried out by the Gdańsk warship did not bring any spectacular results (only one prize was taken), and the elements took a heavy toll on the caravel, Berndt Pawest nonetheless scored a significant propaganda

have sailed against the wind but not away from the coast. He suspected that there may have been a crosswind, which might have made it possible to turn the ship and sail away from the shore, though not very quickly; cf. also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 183, n. 804, with the claim that the ship was sailing under mizzen alone.

194 HR, II/6, no. 538, p. 500; Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 25; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 516, n. 2.

195 HR, II/6, no. 538.

196 It should be clarified that when Pawest was aboard the caravel he referred to the Zwin, but when he was not he wrote about Sluis, one of the ports on the Zwin: see above. Pawest himself resided at the port, and the caravel was repaired on the Zwin.

197 HR, II/6, no. 538.

198 HR, II/6, no. 538.

199 HR, II/6, no. 540; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 26.

success. The great caravel's operations at sea clearly disrupted English shipping, immediately drawing the attention of the Hanseatics (particularly those in Bruges) to the fact that they had at their disposal a vessel capable of playing a major role in further maritime warfare.

Before detailing the course of repairs to the caravel after her exploits in the North Sea, let us focus briefly on the changing political situation of the day. It was probably while Berndt Pawest was still at sea that diplomatic efforts were made to try and broker a peace between France and the Hanse. On 15 November 1471 Gdańsk informed Lübeck that King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk had received a declaration from the admiral of France stating that peace would be upheld between France and the Hanse.²⁰⁰ Kazimierz Jagiellończyk responded in a similar vein, writing to the admiral of France about the will to maintain peace between the Hanse and France.²⁰¹ The date and details of this letter are not known, but we do know that the Lübeck city council forwarded it (probably to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*), informing the city council of Gdańsk on 12 March 1472 that they had done so.²⁰² It was also in March 1472 that King Edward IV issued a letter authorising members of his council: John Scott, marshal of Calais, William Hatcliffe, the king's secretary, John Russell, archdeacon of Berkshire, and Richard Martin, archdeacon of London, as well as John Young and John Crosby, merchant aldermen of London, and William Rosse, victualler of Calais, to conduct peace negotiations with the Hanse.²⁰³ These protracted diplomatic dialogues were to continue, but not until May and July of 1472, which I will return to later. In any event, at the beginning of 1472 the war was still in progress, and as far as Berndt Pawest's further plans were concerned, the most important news was that, despite the delay in sending their warships to enter the fray, Lübeck (having persuaded Hamburg to join them) intended to launch a naval operation after Easter.²⁰⁴

Pawest spent the first days after returning from the North Sea expedition assessing his losses. Having "found" Eler Bokelman he dispatched him to Gdańsk aboard his hulk, instructing him to tell the city council about everything "that

200 HR, II/6, no. 487.

201 This letter is mentioned in a letter from Lübeck to Gdańsk (HR, II/6, no. 574) and in the minutes of the Hanseatic assembly held in Lübeck in early July 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 596, paragraph 9: a report made by the Bruges envoy, Nicolas Cunonis, *Kontor* secretary); cf. Held, *Die Hanse*, pp. 227–29.

202 HR, II/6, no. 574.

203 HR, II/6, no. 592.

204 Lübeck's reply of 20 February 1472 to Gdańsk's letter of 13 December 1471 explained the reasons for the delay in sending out a fleet against the English and gave a new date for its planned dispatch; HR, II/6, no. 507.

could not be put in writing".²⁰⁵ Pawest himself reiterated his desire to go home; he was harbouring thoughts of giving up his commission, and so he made a personal plea to councillor Martin Bock, asking him to help in this matter and convince the city council to grant his wish. He also asked the council to send funds to repair the caravel, as it seemed that she would have to be hauled ashore, and there was some uncertainty as to what costs this would involve.²⁰⁶

Having removed all of her equipment (cannon, cables and other items),²⁰⁷ over a period of five days (from 8 to 12 March), the ship was hauled ashore and no time of day or night was spared in carrying out the necessary repairs.²⁰⁸ All of the sacks and oakum that had been used to plug the leaking ship were removed. We can assume that the holes in her hull were caulked and tarred or else that some other waterproofing measures were taken.²⁰⁹

At this point it is worth seeing what the sources can tell us about the losses and damage incurred by the caravel during her nine-week stint in the North Sea. Details of these detrimental effects are given in Table 8.

The information collated in the table shows that repairs were carried out from March to June of 1472. Not only was the hull made watertight, but it appears that the crew's quarters were also renovated and work was carried out on the keel and masts.

Let us recall that before putting to sea on 5 January 1472 the caravel had aroused the interest of a Lombard and some Spaniards. The fact that she elicited admiration was also mentioned in Berndt Pawest's accounts of his expedition to the English coast, during which the Gdańsk warship had made a marked impression on the enemy. Her return from this mission sparked even greater interest. The repair work undertaken ashore provided an excellent opportunity to see the ship's entire structure. It was probably on 12 March that the first interested parties, arriving from Ghent, Bruges and other towns, appeared in Sluis wanting to view the caravel.²¹⁰ This was also when the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges carried out their first inspection of her. Despite the fact that she had previously been anchored in neighbouring ports they had never seen her but had merely been in touch with her commander. Having completed their inspection they pledged financial assistance to Berndt Pawest,

205 HR, II/6, no. 539 (extensive calendar), see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/75, no. 238.

206 All of these details come from a letter of 8 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 539. (extensive calendar).

207 It is later mentioned that these things were carried ashore on 13 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 541.

208 HR, II/6, no. 540.

209 HR, II/6, no. 540. These waterproofing measures are also mentioned in an annotation to a letter of 14 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 541.

210 HR, II/6, no. 540; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage, II, no. 12.

TABLE 8 Damage and repairs to the caravel after her return from service in the North Sea

Type of loss or damage	Date when noted ^a	Repair measures	Date when noted or period of repairs	Costs
Loss of ship's boat	Before 22 February 1472 ^b			
Tear – a large hole. Damage and another hole	Damage occurred on 22 February 1472; noted in a letter of 6 March 1472 ^c	Emergency running repairs: plugging holes and pumping out water	From 22 February to 6 March	–
Loss of 3 anchors	Between 22 and 28 February ^d	Plan to haul ship ashore “dat wy dat an grunt mogen bryngen”	8 March 1472 ^e	Concerns voiced at the time that the repairs would be costly
		Ship successfully hauled ashore and all sacks and other items used to plug the leaks removed. Cables and equipment (cannons) also removed according to a letter of 14 March 1472 ^f	Work carried out from 8 to 12 March 1472 ^g	

a Berndt Pawest gradually informed Gdańsk about the types of damage in successive letters, thus the dates refer to when the repairs were carried out. However, it is also feasible that a full estimate of the damage was not made at the beginning, as suggested by the fact that in his letters to Gdańsk Pawest was initially convinced that the repairs would be completed quickly.

b HR, II/6, no. 538v.

c HR, II/6, no. 538.

d HR, II/6, no. 538.

e HR, II/6, no. 539.

f HR, II/6, no. 541.

g HR, II/6, no. 540.

TABLE 8 Damage and repairs to the caravel after her return from service in the North Sea (*cont.*)

Type of loss or damage	Date when noted	Repair measures	Date when noted or period of repairs	Costs
			13 March, noted on 14 March 1472, ^h cf. 8 April 1472 ⁱ	
		Berndt Pawest hired 4 carpenters to re-pair the ship within 4 weeks	13 March 1472 ^j	
		Berndt Pawest sent master Peter Engelen to buy timber in Antwerp, giving him a certain sum of money	Noted on 8 April 1472, ^k and confirmed on 28 April 1472 ^l	
The keel, masts, planking and other parts of the ship were damaged	Noted on 28 April 1472, but refers to events in February and March 1472 ^m	Waterproofing with hot tar (<i>kalvaters</i>) also among first tasks carried out in March	Noted on 12 June 1472, ⁿ refers to March and subsequent months	

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

h HR, II/6, no. 541.
i HR, II/6, no. 542.
j HR, II/6, no. 541.
k HR, II/6, no. 542.
l HR, II/6, no. 545.
m HR, II/6, no. 545.
n HR, II/6, no. 551.

even suggesting that it might be worth keeping the ship in port for longer so that she could be thoroughly repaired before being sent out to face the enemy again.²¹¹ The impression made by the caravel is reflected in a letter from the

211 HR, II/6, no. 540; cf. Lienau, *Der Peter*, p. 26.

aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to the city council of Gdańsk written on 15 March 1472 (hence three days after the inspection, if, as suspected, it took place on 12 March). The messenger dispatched with this letter promised to reach Gdańsk within 16 days, although the journey usually took 20 days (as evidenced by the time it took for letters from Gdańsk to reach Bruges). This suggests that the aldermen were keen to make their proposals known to Gdańsk as soon as possible. They referred to the caravel as a jewel lauded by various nationalities: the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Lombards and Burgundians (“Engelant Franckryke Spanyen Portugael Limbardyen und alle des hern landen van Burgundien”). They also offered to help with the caravel’s repairs, and even cover the costs in full should the city council of Gdańsk not want to pay them. The most important thing as far as the Hanseatics in Bruges were concerned was to prevent the damaged caravel falling into enemy hands; they even believed that she could be instrumental in forcing the English to make peace.²¹² Bruges passed on news of the caravel, her achievements and potential, to Lübeck and Hamburg,²¹³ whilst Berndt Pawest, buoyed by the position adopted by the Bruges *Kontor*, wrote to the city council of Gdańsk about the need to finish off the renovation of the ship. He did, however, highlight a problem which he acutely aware of, namely the huge costs involved in maintaining such a large crew (of 300 or even 400 men), who, after all, had to be paid for their services.²¹⁴ With this in mind he planned to take out another loan,²¹⁵ this being all the more crucial given that the skipper (captain?) and boatswain were no longer willing to serve without pay and Pawest was even considering hiring someone else to replace them.²¹⁶ Yet again he complained to the Gdańsk city council about his own duties, and bemoaned the fact that he was spending time away from home. By 12 March 1472, 30 weeks had elapsed since he had first set sail from Gdańsk on 19 August 1471 at the start of his maritime service.²¹⁷

On 12 March 1472 Berndt Pawest still thought that repairs to the ship would be completed within four weeks, meaning that he would be able to reach Lübeck by around Easter (which fell on 29 March in 1472) and join the Hanseatic fleet that was assembling there. He even planned to equip another

212 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 98.

213 In a letter of 11 April 1472 to Gdańsk (HR, II/6, no. 524, extensive calendar; see also no. 525), both towns, drawing on the earlier news from Bruges, use the same terms noted in the letter of 15 March from Bruges to Gdańsk: they advise that the caravel be repaired to prevent her falling into other hands and so that she can be used to take action against the enemy.

214 This information comes from a letter of 12 March 1472: HR, II/6, no. 541.

215 HR, II/6, no. 540.

216 This letter was written aboard the “groten carveel, Peter genant, der stadt van Danczk”.

217 HR, II/6, no. 540; cf. above.

warship²¹⁸ (possibly the captured prize *Valentin*). A day later (on 13 March 1472) the caravel was already afloat, having been prevented from heeling²¹⁹ by special rigging and an anchor. Her cables and cannons were brought aboard, and four carpenters were hired for four weeks²²⁰ (which confirms that the plan was for repairs to be finished by late March / early April). The chief boatswain Herman Stutten²²¹ played a particularly vital role in this work, leading Berndt Pawest to proclaim him worth more than ten men and reward him with a bonus payment.²²² However, the ship's victuals were running low: of the six lasts of meat probably purchased in Berszhuck and the eight lasts bought in Veere, only five barrels remained. There were only 39 barrels of flour left, and Herman the baker stated that the flour and peas (or beans) that had been bought at the port of Veere were completely spoiled.²²³ It was during these days that Berndt Pawest's plans to sail as quickly as possible to Lübeck and join forces with the growing Hanseatic fleet were overridden by the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, who decided that the caravel should be repaired more thoroughly and over a longer period. The caravel was "arrested",²²⁴ which we can take to mean that Pawest was deprived of a say in whether or not the ship was seaworthy and ready to set sail. In consequence, when writing to Gdańsk on 14 March he gave vent to his pessimistic mood. He stated that he no longer wanted to take the warship out to sea as he had done nothing else (and had not seen land) for the past 11 weeks.²²⁵ The enforcement of extended repairs resulted in Herman the baker deciding to go home and not return. Once he had reached Gdańsk he was to give an account of all issues relating to the caravel,²²⁶ as this was evidently how Berndt Pawest preferred to let the city council of Gdańsk know about the difference of opinion between himself and the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*. After 14 March Pawest remained silent until 8 April, not sending any letters to Gdańsk, though he was obviously (in spite of his misgivings) busy supervising the repairs to the caravel. We know that he sent master Peter Engelken (probably a carpenter) with an unspecified sum of money to Antwerp to buy the timber needed for these repairs.²²⁷

218 HR, II/6, no. 540.

219 HR, II/6, no. 541; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 13.

220 HR, II/6, no. 541.

221 HR, II/6, no. 545.

222 HR, II/6, no. 541.

223 HR, II/6, no. 541: there is also a sentence about a large fleet having left Wielingen heading for Bai.

224 This is mentioned in a letter of 6 April 1472: HR, II/6, no. 542.

225 HR, II/6, no. 541.

226 HR, II/6, no. 541.

227 HR, II/6, no. 542, 8 April 1472, and in letter no. 545 of 28 April 1472.

On 6 April 1472, despite the fact that the caravel was still being renovated, the Hanseatic merchants of Bruges decided to release her from “arrest”, which can be taken to mean that Berndt Pawest regained full control of the vessel.²²⁸ Although she was in much better condition, Pawest himself conceded that she was not yet ready to return to service.²²⁹ On 8 April 1472, clearly awaiting someone to replace him, he decided to send the prize ship *Valentin* to Gdańsk, commanded by skipper Heinrich Schomaker (of whom no further details are known).²³⁰ The ship’s cargo included the French wine which Pawest had bought from Jacob Heyne during his North Sea expedition. Pawest earmarked eight pipes of this wine²³¹ for mayor Johann Veere and for other council members, in particular Johann Peckow. The mayor was to receive two pipes: one of red wine and one of the finest white wine. Two further pipes were to go to the three other mayors, whilst one pipe was to be given to the council to do with as they saw fit. Yet another was to be left at the disposal of the mayor, who was to decide what to do with it.²³² It is not difficult to guess that this wine was intended to make the council more amenable to Berndt Pawest’s requests to be relieved of his duties aboard the caravel. *Valentin* was fitted with equipment from the caravel,²³³ and was armed with six cannons and two hand bombards complete with accessories and gunpowder,²³⁴ ropes and anchors.²³⁵ The skipper in command of the prize was to be paid 6 Flemish pounds groschen, whilst each of the crew was to receive just over 4 pounds in wages.²³⁶ Later events show that, after reaching Gdańsk with her consignment of goods, *Valentin* and her skipper, Heinrich Schomaker, were meant to make the return journey to rejoin Berndt Pawest as soon as possible.

At that same time, around 29 March 1472, the city council of Lübeck set out the *Prisenordnung*, namely the rules governing the financing and organisation of privateering operations, in view of the fact that the city’s burghers were

228 HR, II/6, no. 541.

229 HR, II/6, no. 542.

230 HR, II/6, no. 542, letter of 8 April 1472.

231 According to studies and dictionary definitions a pipe was an elongated barrel, oval in cross-section, which was mainly used for transporting wine and olive oil but also, for example, almonds. The volume of a pipe was variously defined, though most often it was taken to equate to half a tun; see *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, p. 222.

232 Ibidem, no. 543 (letter of 8 April 1472); wine is also mentioned in a letter of 15 April 1472 (no. 544), though the reference is to 7 pipes, annotated to 9 pipes, two of which possibly contained Burgundian wine.

233 Ibidem, no. 544.

234 Ibidem, no. 544.

235 HR, II/6, no. 545 (28 April 1472).

236 HR, II/6 no. 544.

about to take part in the war against England, France and other enemies.²³⁷ In early April Lübeck prepared four ships for warfare against the English: *Mariendracke*, *Juriendracke*, *Rodenbecke* (possibly commanded by Hans Rodenbeke) and *Katherinen*,²³⁸ whilst Hamburg provided another four warships: *Grote Marie*, *Vlegende Geest*, *Katherine* and *Bastian*.²³⁹ On 11 April 1472 the city council of Lübeck sent a letter to their counterparts in Gdańsk informing them that they were preparing a flotilla for war against England, and expressing the hope that Gdańsk's caravel would also be ready to put to sea when the time came for action.²⁴⁰ Ultimately, the organisation of Lübeck's expedition took some time to complete and their ships did not reach their destination until around mid-May (more of which later), giving Berndt Pawest hope of joining them.

From 15 April (or possibly even earlier) to 8/10 May Berndt Pawest was once again in Bruges.²⁴¹ He tried to assemble a new crew, looking for a skipper, a boatswain, pilots, a cook and a baker,²⁴² but his attempts proved unsuccessful.²⁴³ In addition to dealing with the caravel Pawest also became involved in issues of a broader scope. This included a meeting with "a Lombard" (as referred to in sources), who was probably the same person who had shown an interest in the caravel in late 1471 and had established contact, through Pawest, with the city council of Gdańsk. Indeed, during their meeting Berndt Pawest had given the Lombard a number of letters from the city council, though what they concerned is not known.²⁴⁴ Shortly afterwards, during a four-hour

237 HU, 10, no. 109; Kammler, *Up Eventur*, pp. 44, 101.

238 These are the names listed in HU 10, no. 109. This source is also cited by the editor of *Die Ratschronik, Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte: Lübeck* (various descriptions: Bd. XVIII Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482, Dritte Fortsetzung der Detmar-Chronik zweiter Teil: 1466–1488), facsimile of 1911 edition (1968), p. 99, n. 2, and Kammler, *Up Eventur*, pp. 44 and 102. Preparations for warfare are referred to in a letter from Johann van A to Gerhard von Wesel, HU, 10, no. 111.

239 HU, 10, pp. 67–69, n. 3, wherein the footnote includes excerpts concerning Hamburg's war preparations; see also Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 44.

240 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Altes Senatsarchiv, Externa Borussia, 30, k. 545.

241 A letter of 8 April (HR, II/6, no. 543) was written in Sluis; subsequent letters, dated 15 and 28 April respectively, were penned in Bruges (HR, II/6, nos. 544 and 545), whilst a letter of 10 May (no. 547) was written in Sluis.

242 HR, II/6, no. 545; this subject is also raised in a letter of 21 May 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 547).

243 HR, II/6, no. 545.

244 HR, II/6, no. 547. What we do know is that in the spring of 1473 a Lombard who had been building a large ship with a keel length of 51 ells ("51 elen kiles") died in Gdańsk ("auf der pasca obent") and was buried at the Carthusian monastery in Kartusy (*Caspar Weinreich*, p. 12); Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 47; Beata Możejko, "Z dziejów floty gdańskiej w XV wieku", in: *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, 11, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Malbork 2005, p. 176.

conversation on various topics with the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, Pawest mentioned his meeting with the Lombard, trying to win over the aldermen to the idea of building ships in Gdańsk for non-Hanseatic clients. Let us recall that since the beginning of the 15th century the Hanse had been trying to prohibit ships being made for non-Hanseatics at the shipyards of its member cities in the hope of restricting competition at sea. Despite these measures, in the late 1440s Gdańsk tried to gain permission to build ships for the Dutch and other foreigners. Although a ban on such practices had been introduced, some years later Gdańsk began to accept commissions to build ships for non-Hanseatic cities.²⁴⁵ Berndt Pawest argued that Gdańsk offered excellent conditions for shipbuilding: readily available timber, iron, carpenters and blacksmiths.²⁴⁶ There is, however, no doubt that the most important issues addressed during the meeting at the Bruges *Kontor* were Anglo-Hanseatic relations and matters concerning the caravel. Information was exchanged. Pawest spoke of arrangements regarding the ban on trade in English cloth that had been agreed during discussions in Lübeck, led by Gdańsk councilman Philipp Bischof and Johan Landgreve (a reference to talks held in April 1469),²⁴⁷ and of arrangements concluded with King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of Poland. One of the *Kontor's* aldermen, Johann Durkope (Durcoop),²⁴⁸ told Berndt Pawest about the Hanse's plans to hold peace negotiations with England (in Utrecht),²⁴⁹ and even gave Pawest some letters concerning the English²⁵⁰ (Pawest later sent these letters to Lübeck through master Nicolaus, secretary of the Bruges *Kontor*,²⁵¹ and to Gdańsk through a messenger).²⁵² Durkope also mentioned the arrival in Bruges of an English merchant who had held talks at the *Kontor*.²⁵³ Tackling the subject of the caravel, Berndt Pawest reported that further loans were required and that a sum of 5 or 10 pounds groschen was needed.²⁵⁴

245 For an example of an order for a ship to be built in Gdańsk for Genoa and Bruges (equal shares in ownership) see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 118. On the subject of the ban see Bogucka, Gdańsk, pp. 46–47; Możejko, *Z dziejów*, pp. 172–74.

246 HR, II/6, no. 547; Bogucka, *Gdańsk*, p. 46, n. 42; Możejko, *Z dziejów*, p. 174.

247 HR, II/6, nos. 184, 547.

248 HR, II/6, p. 514. For more about Durkope see Rößner, op. cit., pp. 321–22. He was an alderman in 1460, 1462, 1464/65, 1469, 1470 and again in 1472, 1474, 1477 and 1478.

249 HR, II/6, no. 550 (letter of 3 June 1472 referring to this conversation).

250 This transpires from a letter of 3 June (HR, II/6, no. 550) but it must be assumed that this actually happened during the four-hour discussion in Bruges referred to in letter no. 547 (of 9 May 1472); see also no. 592.

251 See also HR, II/6 no. 552.

252 As stated in a letter of 3 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 550).

253 HR, II/6, no. 547.

254 This is reported in a letter of 10 May 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 547).

On a personal level, it was probably at this time that Pawest told the aldermen that he would be replaced as commander of the caravel by the very able Paul Beneke.²⁵⁵

During his stay in Bruges Berndt Pawest was kept abreast of progress with work on the caravel. Around 28 April the keel, masts and other structural features still needed to be repaired, which entailed considerable costs.²⁵⁶ It was estimated that the repairs would take another six weeks to complete, with the planking requiring attention and the frames needing to be replaced.²⁵⁷ It was both obvious and a cause of concern to Pawest that he would not be able to launch an offensive against the English within the next 14 days (which is probably when the warships from Lübeck and Hamburg were expected to arrive in Bruges).²⁵⁸ It is, therefore, no surprise that he used his meeting with the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to try and secure funds for the ongoing repair work. At this point it is worth citing an excerpt from one of his letters to Gdańsk: "I also said to them: look, gentlemen, it is high time, now that misfortune stands at our door. We felt this constantly for a whole month when waging war. We risked life and limb with courage and a fine ship".²⁵⁹ Ultimately Pawest's requests for financial support were granted and he received a loan of 60 pounds groschen from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*.²⁶⁰

It was also in Bruges, prior to 28 April 1472, that Berndt Pawest heard about Jacob Heyne and his companions.²⁶¹ Imprisoned by their Breton captors, Pawest's recent companions-in-arms demanded his help in providing the money for their release, claiming that Pawest still owed them for the French wine they had sold him (they had been paid for eight barrels, but were still owed money for a further 31 barrels and a pipe).²⁶² The attack on Breton shipping by Jacob Heyne and his companions meant that they faced the threat of having their ships confiscated on the orders of the duke of Burgundy. Charles the Bold had come out in support of the Bretons, who were allies in his war against King Louis XI of France. This had also led to warships commanded by Paul Beneke and Jorgen Markwert being arrested, and now Berndt Pawest

²⁵⁵ HR, II/6, no. 553.

²⁵⁶ HR, II/6, no. 545.

²⁵⁷ HR, II/6, no. 545.

²⁵⁸ HR, II/6, no. 545.

²⁵⁹ Translated based on a compilation of modern German versions published in Lienau, *Der Peter*, and HR, II/6, no. 553.

²⁶⁰ This is revealed in a letter of 27 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 554).

²⁶¹ HR, II/6, no. 545, cf. 546.

²⁶² HR, II/6, no. 546.

began to fear that the same fate might befall the caravel.^{263,264} The Hanseatic cause was additionally undermined by the deeds of the Gdańsk privateer Martin Barderwick,²⁶⁵ working in collaboration with Michael Ertmann and skippers Sternberch, Smyt and Gustrow,²⁶⁶ who carried out a successful boarding action near Dunkirk in the spring of 1472, seizing a ship and goods belonging to the Breton Johann Thomass.²⁶⁷

It was probably on 27 April that a letter sent from Gdańsk on 7 April reached the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges and victuals for the crew of the caravel were delivered.²⁶⁸ This delivery must, however, have been insufficient, as by 28 April Berndt Pawest was already writing to Gdańsk about the need for more flour, fish, meat and butter.²⁶⁹ Preparing for the ship's delayed departure, he made a concerted effort to stock up on food. On 8 May he borrowed 50 Flemish pounds groschen each from Francisco Lecavelum and Pasqueir Garneis for 23 days, signing receipts for both loans. He used this money to buy pork fat, beer and flour, even though he still had a small supply of 17 barrels of flour. He shared out the pork fat and beer among the crew.²⁷⁰ He probably obtained

263 HR, II/6, no. 545.

264 HR, II/6, no. 545.

265 HR, II/6, no. 545. Martin Bardewick was already well-known for his joint actions with Paul Beneke off the English coast in the autumn of 1469 (HR, II/6, no. 281, n. 4); see also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage II, no. 529, relating that Bardewick and Eler Bockelmanen were captured by the English on 31 May 1470; cf. Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 45, n. 157.

266 As stated in letter HR, II/6, no. 555. Of this trio of skippers Sterneberch is the only one of whom any details are known. In the spring of 1468 he had operated alongside Vincent Stolle and Michael Ertmann, and all three of them had been accused (unjustly in their opinion) of attacking English ships (HR, II/6, pp. 72, 73 and 84; see also earlier mention of Ertmann in this monograph).

267 HR, II/6, no. 545 (for more on Bardewick see pp. 260, 276, 506, 508, 511, 512, 516). On 28 April Berndt Pawest reported that Bardewick had captured a Breton. He mentioned Bardewick's action again (this time also naming other individuals) on 21 May 1472. It seems that in both instances Pawest was referring to the same incident, though this is apparently contradicted by a letter of 24 July 1472 from Charles, duke of Burgundy, to the city of Bremen, which states that the attack took place on 6 May near Dunkirk. The problem is that in this letter Barderwick is erroneously referred to as a citizen of Bremen, and it was to this city that the complaint was addressed, which possibly explains why the date of the attack is wrong. However, perhaps the duke had only learned of this attack on 6 May (or rather the Breton had not filed his complaint till 6 May, which would be the more logical explanation): HU, 10, no. 133, wherein an editor's footnote to HR, II/6, nos. 545 and 548 highlights that the attack had taken place around 28 April and that the complaint was made on 6 May.

268 This is reported in a letter of 28 April 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 545).

269 HR, II/6, no. 545.

270 This is recorded in a letter of 30 May, but it seems that all of these purchases were made after 8 May and before 30 May (HR, II/6, no. 549). Pawest also writes about having spent 100 pounds in a letter of 12 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 551).

12 lasts of meat and a last of butter on credit.²⁷¹ He also borrowed an unspecified amount of money from Thonyes Eggers, a partner with whom he appears to have regularly done business, given that (as Pawest himself admitted) he already owed him vast sums. Thanks to this loan, Berndt Pawest managed to buy an anchor at the end of June, which he proclaimed the most beautiful anchor in all Flanders.²⁷²

Whilst he was in Bruges Berndt Pawest heard news of the warships from Lübeck and Hamburg. Around 28 April he was expecting the ship he was waiting for (*Valentin*, captained by Heinrick Schomaker) to join this fleet.²⁷³ In keeping with earlier-laid plans, he anticipated that after a 20-day voyage *Valentin* would have reached Gdańsk and almost immediately set out on the return journey. Prior to 28 April 1472 Pawest also received information²⁷⁴ that the French fleet had set sail. Commanded by Vice Admiral Guillaume de Casanove (Coulon),²⁷⁵ it consisted of 18 warships, including four large ones:²⁷⁶ a *kolumme*, a carrack and two large caravels.²⁷⁷

Berndt Pawest returned to Sluis between 8 and 10 May (Sunday) 1472.²⁷⁸ At about this time he paid his crewmen their wages.²⁷⁹ The pilot received over 7 crowns, whilst the cook was paid 1 crown; the chief boatswain, helmsman and carpenter also received payments. Thus Pawest managed to retain their services, his attempts at finding replacements for them in Bruges having failed. The rest of the crew were paid 12 stuivers,²⁸⁰ 8 stuivers and 6 stuivers accordingly, leaving him with money only for food.²⁸¹

271 He first mentions this in a letter of 27 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 554).

272 As stated in a letter of 27 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 554), though the loan probably refers to one taken out in Bruges.

273 HR, II/6, no. 545.

274 HR, II/6, no. 545; see also Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 222.

275 For an overview of his activities during 1470–1475 see Jean Favier, *Louise XI*, Fayard 2001, p. 696.

276 These warships are listed in a letter of 14 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 553).

277 On the admiral's naval exploits see Charles De la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine française*, 2, Paris 1900, pp. 314–15. Regarding the definition of a *kolumme*, see Caspar Weinreich, p. 11 and n. 2, stating that a “Kolumbe” or “Colonne” was a large warship.

278 In a letter dated Sunday 10 May Pawest recalled that he had been in Bruges during the previous week (HR, II/6, no. 547).

279 He first wrote about this in a letter of 30 May, but probably made these payments earlier, after having obtained the aforementioned loan.

280 A stuiver (German *Stüber*) was a small coin; a Rhenish guilder was the equivalent of 20 stuiver: see <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~cd2/drw/F6/schill4/g456-457.htm> (accessed February 2009). Cf. also *Von Aktie bis Zoll. Ein historisches Lexikon des Geldes*, ed. Michael North, Munich 1995, p. 368, wherein we read that the stuiver was a penny coin: “niederländische Groschenmünze”.

281 HR, II/6, no. 549.

It was at around this time that Hanseatic warships were converging on Sluis, ready to take on the English. The Gdańsk privateers Michael Ertmann and Martin Bardewick arrived in Sluis between 10 and 21 May, accompanied by skippers Sterneberch, Smyt and Gustrow, each of whom commanded his own vessel.²⁸² Lübeck's *Mariendracke* reached Sluis before 21 May 1472, followed by other warships,²⁸³ all of which sparked some optimism in Berndt Pawest, who was once again back in Bruges. In a letter of 21 May 1472 he wrote that he hoped the caravel would be able to set out to sea within two or three weeks,²⁸⁴ preferably after the spring storms,²⁸⁵ in a spring wind. Despite the fact that the repairs to the caravel (which Pawest claimed had been carried out using "good iron and timber") were nearing completion, work on the stem was ongoing, delaying the ship's departure.²⁸⁶ It is very likely that Pawest sought the help of a doctor whilst in Bruges, given that in a letter to Gdańsk on 21 May 1472 he wrote that he was so ill from the strain of being in charge of the caravel that he felt unable to continue commanding her.²⁸⁷ On that same day Pawest received a letter from Gdańsk;²⁸⁸ although its contents remain a mystery, we do know that it did not provide a reply to his question about whether *Valentin*, the ship commanded by Heinrick Schumaker, had reached Gdańsk.²⁸⁹

Prior to 30 May 1472 Michael Ertmann declined further cooperation with Berndt Pawest.²⁹⁰ He was not willing to wait until the great caravel was ready to set sail. Later events suggest that he teamed up with Martin Bardewick and the combined fleet from Lübeck and Hamburg, engaging in action near Calais and then in the Dover Strait.

On the night of 29/30 May a violent storm broke, rocking the caravel so severely that she had to be tethered by four anchors; however, the wind snapped a cable securing one of them (we do not know whether this was the same anchor that Pawest had bought in Bruges).²⁹¹ Another problem was that a full crew had still not been put together for the caravel. Between 21 and 30 May Pawest heard about Lambert Happener of Gdańsk, who was living in Flanders (in Delenmarked / Dielenmarkt) at that time, and who was reputed to be a

282 HR, II/6, p. 513.

283 HR, II/6, p. 512; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 10.

284 HR, II/6, p. 512.

285 HR, II/6, no. 548.

286 Pawest wrote about the completion of work on the stem in a letter of 12 June 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 551).

287 HR, II/6, p. 512.

288 HR, II/6, no. 548.

289 HR, II/6, no. 548: in a letter of 21 May Pawest wrote that he hoped Heinrick Schumaker had, God willing, reached Gdańsk (possibly in time for Easter).

290 HR, II/6, no. 549, p. 514, annotation.

291 HR, II/6, no. 549: letter of 30 May 1472.

good helmsman. Although Pawest managed to bring him to a meeting to entice him into serving aboard the caravel with an inducement in the form of a Rhenish guilder and a so-called post-guilder, Happener absconded after having taken this money.²⁹²

It was also at around this time that Berndt Pawest was taking active measures to try and procure the services of Paul Beneke, whom he was eager to install as captain (skipper) and whose candidature had been endorsed by the Bruges *Kontor*. Beneke had long been singled out as the best choice for this post by all of the skippers whom Pawest knew and whose advice he had sought.²⁹³ However, by 14 June 1472 Pawest had still not managed to agree any terms of service with Beneke, who intended to take a consignment of cloth to Hamburg aboard his own ship.²⁹⁴ In a letter of 20 June Pawest tried to convince the city council of Gdańsk that Paul Beneke should take over the command of the caravel, though he warned them that Beneke did not want a contractual wage for his services, but a one-sixteenth share in the ship's ownership.²⁹⁵ He also reported that the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* hoped that on reaching Hamburg Beneke would manage to find men willing to serve aboard the caravel²⁹⁶ (as from what they knew it was possible to raise a crew of as many as 800 in Hamburg).²⁹⁷ In the end Paul Beneke never made this voyage, his plans being hampered by the imminent start of naval action.

Around 12 June 1472 the overhaul of the caravel was nearing completion in spite of difficulties caused by the tides. The ship had been provided with a new jib and a smaller sail of some kind (probably a bonnet), as well as new anchors and cables.²⁹⁸ Some form of work to make the hull watertight was still in progress, ten carpenters having been employed to tackle this task.²⁹⁹ There were already around 100 men working on the ship. In addition to the tradesmen and carpenters attending to her waterproofing, a brewer, a baker, a blacksmith and ropemakers had also been hired, meaning that a regular supply of money

292 Ibidem.

293 HR, II/6, no. 550. Letter no. 554 of 27–28 June 1472 also mentions that the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* were consulted about the idea of employing Paul Beneke.

294 HR, II/6, no. 552; cf. Caspar Weinreich, Beilage 11, no. 16.

295 HR, II/6, no. 553.

296 HR, II/6, no. 551: letter of 12 June 1472.

297 HR, II/6, no. 552. According to Kammler (*Up Eventur*, p. 65, n. 224), who also wrote about the exploits of Berndt Pawest, the Hamburg payrolls of 1471–1496 give the names of 1150 “men of the sea” (mariners) and soldiers.

298 HR, II/6, no. 552.

299 HR, II/6, no. 551. A subsequent letter of 14 June 1472 also mentions the hire of these carpenters.

was needed for their upkeep and weekly wages.³⁰⁰ Nothing was left of the 100 pounds that Berndt Pawest had borrowed in Bruges. Records show that he paid out 10 marks to Herman, the chief boatswain (intended for his wife) and that he acquired 17 barrels of flour and two barrels of butter from Thewes Pelcz, of whom no other details are known.³⁰¹ When Pawest complained to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* about the growing expense of maintaining his ship, they consoled him with the news that the cost of armaments alone for *Johan* (the English ship that had been captured by Paul Beneke and Martin Bardewick) had come to 700 pounds groschen.³⁰²

In the broader context of Anglo-Hanseatic relations, despite increasingly active preparations for war, attempts were still being made to reach a diplomatic resolution. On 21 May 1472 two English merchants, William Rosse and John Berton, presented the city council of Lübeck with a letter of authorisation from King Edward IV, dating from March 1472, calling on the Hanse to enter into peace negotiations. They both suggested that these talks should take place in Utrecht.³⁰³ Before 14 June 1472 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* sent their secretary, master Nicolas Cunonis, to Lübeck in order to discuss the issue of peace talks with England.³⁰⁴ This discussion never came to pass because the war at sea got underway.

In June 1472 the aforementioned French fleet of 18 vessels, commanded by Vice Admiral Guillaume de Casanove (Coulon), set sail for the Dutch coast.³⁰⁵ The French admiral intended to target Burgundian rather than Hanseatic shipping.³⁰⁶ Having passed Calais on 14 June, the fleet approached Nieupoort (off the present-day Belgian coast, near Ostend), where, probably somewhat to their surprise, they encountered a six-strong Hanseatic flotilla. This consisted of *Mariendrache*, and probably also the other three warships from Lübeck, whilst it seems that the last two belonged to Michael Ertmann and Martin Bardewick of Gdańsk. On 15 June the two sides engaged in an exchange of fire

300 HR, II/6, no. 552; cf. Caspar Weinreich, Beilage 11, no. 16.

301 HR, II/6, no. 662.

302 HR, II/6, no. 552.

303 HR, II/6, no. 593.

304 Cf. HR, II/6, no. 526: letter of 1 June 1472 from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Gdańsk about the fleet having engaged in action – reference to no. 505; see also no. 595 (letter of 22 June 1472 from Lübeck to Gdańsk about Cunonis's arrival in Lübeck.).

305 Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 224.

306 This was because of the increasingly complicated political situation caused by the escalating conflict between France and the Duchy of Burgundy (see Paviot, *La Politique navale*, p. 176).

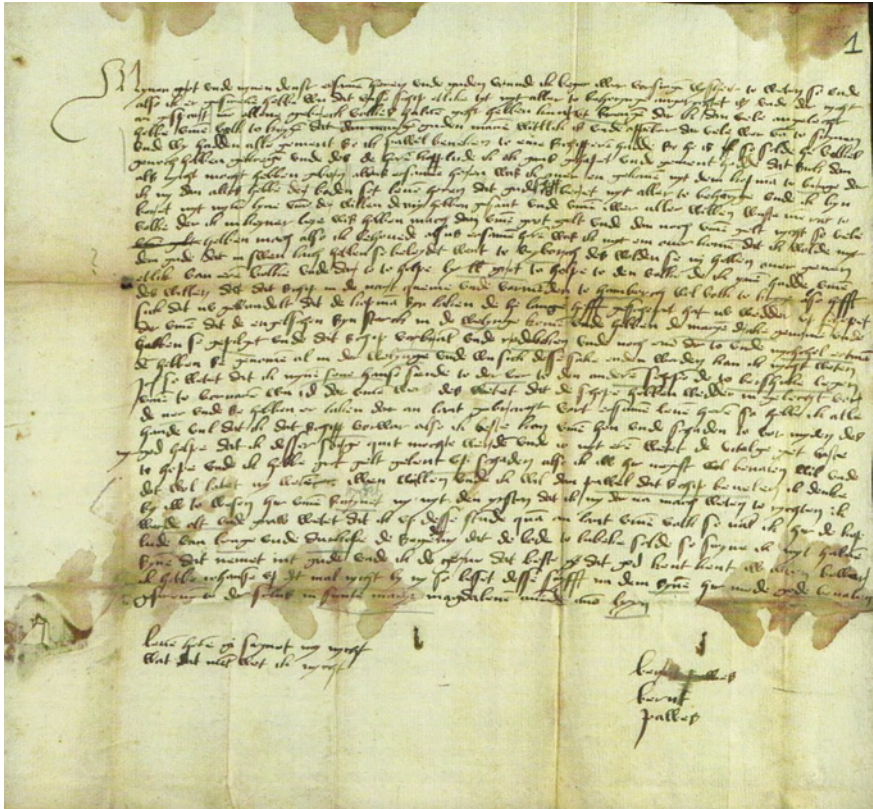


ILLUSTRATION 2 The letter by Berndt Pawest, 21 VII 1472
AP GDAŃSK, 300 D/75, NR 265

that lasted around an hour and a half.³⁰⁷ Losses on both sides were modest: 12 Frenchmen aboard a *kolumme* were killed and one Hanseatic (probably Martin Bardewick),³⁰⁸ however, after damage was inflicted on *Mariendrache*³⁰⁹ the Hanseatic ships retreated to Wielingen.³¹⁰ Both the duration of this skirmish

307 This chain of events can be reconstructed based on HR, II/6, no. 553 (letter of 20 June 1472 from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk), which recounts that the fleets met on 14 June; no. 560 (letter of 2 July 1472 from Hans Breske to Lübeck, written in Wielingen), which mentions 18 warships, the battle fought on 15 June and the duration of the exchange of fire; cf. Caspar Weinreich, p. 11, wherein reference is made to 17 warships.

308 Caspar Weinreich, p. 11.

309 HR, II/6, no. 560.

310 For more about this battle waged by the French vice admiral see Roncière, *Histoire*, pp. 353–54 (the date given there is 14 June); see also Held, *Hanse*, p. 224; Paviot, *La politique navale*, p. 176.

and the relatively limited losses on both sides suggest that the French attack was a somewhat inadvertent one, and that the Hanseatic ships were not the target of their sortie.

Further sources reveal that the French fleet, swiftly bolstered by another 11 warships, continued its operations, waylaying nine Flemish ships en route from Baie.³¹¹ Meanwhile, Edward IV, who was an enemy of France but an ally of Charles the Bold, ordered 21 English warships to be sent out to sea under the command of John Howard (later Duke of Norfolk).³¹² Berndt Pawest also received news (which he passed on to Gdańsk) about Charles the Bold having strengthened his forces, and about Louis XI having gained military superiority in Gascony.³¹³ Thus, the situation was remarkably complicated. France renewed its conflict with the Duchy of Burgundy which, despite supporting Edward IV, remained neutral in the Anglo-Hanseatic war.

On the Hanseatic side, the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* were taking steps to arm two more warships (including one manned by a 200-strong crew), with the intention of sending them into action near Wielingen. Berndt Pawest considered joining this operation,³¹⁴ and while preparing to set out to sea he continued to assemble a crew, looking for “schipmane” (possibly a skipper or mariners), a pilot, a helmsman, carpenters, a cook and a baker.³¹⁵ He found it difficult to fill these posts because other Hanseatic warships also eager to hire crews had stopped in Wielingen, and because of the low wages he was offering, amounting to 1 crown per crew member for an unspecified period of service. Meanwhile other ships (e.g. those from Lübeck) were offering a weekly wage³¹⁶ of 14 stuivers.³¹⁷ To add to his woes, the money that Pawest had borrowed from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* was running out, and he planned to pay them another visit to address this issue.³¹⁸ His concerns soon proved well-founded: the caravel’s crew began to abandon her.³¹⁹ The whole situation played out between 27 and 30 June 1472. The crew of the caravel was dwin-

311 HR, II/6, no. 553; Tiedeman Holst and Zirkent are named as participants in this voyage. In a letter dated 20 June 1472 Berndt Pawest wrote to Gdańsk about these events, expressing his hope that news of the capture of the Flemish ships was untrue.

312 HU, 10, no. 133, n. 1, p. 83.

313 HR, II/6, p. 519 (letter of 28 June 1472).

314 HR, II/6, no. 553; this information is repeated in a letter of 27 June 1472 (no. 554).

315 HR, II/6, no. 554.

316 HR, II/6, nos. 554 and 555.

317 HR, II/6, nos. 555 and 556 (letter of 2 July).

318 HR, II/6, no. 555.

319 HR, II/6, pp. 519–20.

dling by the day: initially 150 men stayed on, subsequently falling to 100, until finally only 50 were left.³²⁰ Berndt Pawest could do nothing more than make promises: he vowed that each mercenary who remained with him until the ship reached Hamburg would receive 3 guilders,³²¹ and as late as 30 June he was still banking on being able to hire around 70 men on these conditions.³²² However, on 2 July he reported to Gdańsk that he had a crew of barely 80.³²³ Despite these setbacks he continued to look after the caravel, buying cables (around 30 June) and trying to acquire a sail (probably for her tallest mast).³²⁴

On 30 June 1472 Berndt Pawest was still in Sluis, but by around 1 July he was back in Bruges,³²⁵ seeking help from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to settle a bill with a ropemaker and pay the remainder of his crew their wages. He obtained a loan of 120 Flemish pounds groschen from Bertram Bereckhoff, Johan van der Lucht and other merchants,³²⁶ and prior to 2 July he received 1344 pounds in copper coins (i.e. the equivalent of 130 Flemish pounds groschen) from Johann van dem Holte, Riberrt Hake and Heinrich Hochhusen.³²⁷ All of these loans were granted on the strength of promissory notes and pledges that the sums borrowed would be repaid by the city council of Gdańsk by Christmas of that same year. The guarantors were Gdańsk citizens Albert Brambeke, Jasper Lange and Johann Sidinghusen,³²⁸ which suggests that they must have been present in Bruges at that time. Having given up on the idea of hiring a complement in Sluis (he was still 100–120 men short),³²⁹ Berndt Pawest abandoned his plans to join the Hanseatic fleet, and instead aimed to take the caravel to Hamburg to try and fill the vacancies in her crew, hoping that 60 pounds

320 HR, II/6, no. 555 (letter of 30 June 1472).

321 As stated in HR, II/6, no. 555 and no. 556 (of 2 July).

322 HR, II/6, no. 555.

323 HR, II/6, no. 556. The fact that the caravel was still in the Zwin was mentioned in Hans Breske's letter of 2 July 1472 (no. 560).

324 HR, II/6, no. 555.

325 HR, II/6, no. 556.

326 HR, II/6, no. 556.

327 HR, II/6, no. 556: letter of 2 July 1472, in which Pawest mentions "8 messen kop pers vor 20 s grote" and writes that this was a loan from Bertram Berckhoff, Johan van de Lucht and others (the others are identified in letter no. 527, which reveals that he borrowed 60 pounds in current coin, and tried to secure a further loan of 100 pounds).

328 HR, II/6, no. 527 (letter of 24 August 1472), n. 2: the loan was not repaid on time. On 16 March Bruges sent a request for payment (on behalf of the creditors) and a reminder of the fact that Gdańsk had once made use of Johann Durekop, who could be of assistance (possibly in passing on the money): 300 D/21, no. 108; cf. HR, II/6, no. 556.

329 It was with this shortfall in crew numbers that the caravel set out to sea on 10 August 1472 (HR, II/6, no. 559).

would suffice for this task;³³⁰ he probably set aside the remainder of the borrowed money to pay the ship's repair bills and possibly to buy victuals.

During his stay in Bruges Pawest agreed with the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* that the "good ship" (caravel) would leave the Zwin laden with goods (cloth) belonging to Hanseatic merchants and would sail to Freiburg on the Elbe as part of a Hanseatic convoy.³³¹ It was also agreed that Pawest would receive a personal payment for taking the convoy to its destination.³³² Thus, we can see that, although he made every effort to fulfil his duty of care towards the caravel, at the same time he did not neglect his private interests.

By 2 July 1472 the caravel was at long last ready to leave port,³³³ and so (we can assume) were other ships of the planned convoy. They were loaded with cloth (800 terlings)³³⁴ which was probably destined for buyers from Hamburg and Lübeck. How tired Berndt Pawest was of his maritime service is reflected in a letter he wrote at the time in which conceded that he was already "old and grey".³³⁵

The whole situation was subsequently affected by a series of complications. On 19 July 1472³³⁶ another skirmish took place, this time between a Hanseatic and an English fleet. Twenty-three English warships attacked a Hanseatic fleet in Wielingen,³³⁷ resulting in Lübeck's *Mariendracke*, *Juriendracke*, *Rodenbeken* and *Katherina*³³⁸ being burned and Michael Ertmann's ship falling into English

330 HR, II/6, no. 557 (letter of 21 July 1472). The sum of 60 pounds is mentioned in a letter of 21 July, whilst 70 pounds is mentioned in a letter of 10 August (HR, II/6, nos. 557 and 559 respectively).

331 On navigation of the Elbe see HR, II/6, nos. 557, 558 and 559.

332 This can be deduced from letter AP Gdańsk 300 D/21, no. 102.

333 HR, II/6, no. 556. Berndt Pawest reiterated his opinion of Paul Beneke: "schipper is vamschepe, dat is ein goet man".

334 A letter of 21 July mentions that the cloth was unloaded, meaning that it must earlier have been loaded on to the ships. A terling was another name for a bale or large bundle weighing approximately 1546 lbs.

335 HR, II/6, no. 557; cf. Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 78.

336 According to "Die Chronik Christians von Geren (1350–1486)", in: *Die Lübecker Bergenfahrer und ihre Chronistik*, ed. Friedrich Bruns, Berlin 1900 (p. 360) and *Ratschronik Lübeck* (p. 99), the attack took place on 19 July 1472, whilst in *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 11) it is dated to 8 July. Otto Held (*Hanse*, pp. 224–25) argued that the English fleet, commanded by Lord Howard, arrived in the Wielingen area on 8 July, and the battle ensued on 19 July. Charles de la Roncière (*Histoire*, p. 355) also gives 19 July as the date of this battle.

337 *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 11) refers to 23 ships.

338 In a letter of 21 July 1472 Berndt Pawest wrote about the burning of the warships *Mariendracke* and *Rodebeken* (HR II, 6, no. 557). In a subsequent letter of 23 July he stated that three ships from Lübeck had been burned: *Mariendracke*, *Rodebeken* and *Katherina* (no. 558). In contrast, *Die Chronik Christians von Geren* (p. 360) records that the English burned four Lübeck warships, among them *Mariendracke* and *Jurendracke* (a publisher's

hands.³³⁹ Paul Beneke was also operating in the same waters, captaining a small warship manned by a crew of barely 20; however, an error made by her helmsman led to her loss in the Zwin.³⁴⁰ The ship was abandoned on a beach near Sluis,³⁴¹ her loss resulting in Paul Beneke finally making an appearance aboard the great caravel.

On learning of this defeat, and in particular of the destruction of *Mariendracke*, Berndt Pawest began to reckon with the possibility of having to enter the fray. He ordered the cargo of cloth already aboard the caravel to be removed.³⁴² He also sent his son Hanse to Veere, to a ship (unnamed in the sources) anchored at Berszhuck;³⁴³ the vessel in question was probably the caravel previously commanded by Michael Ertmann, which he had been unable to sell.

On 21 July 1472 Berndt Pawest was still at the port of Sluis, but two days later he returned to the caravel.³⁴⁴ By 23 July the crew once more numbered around 300 ("dat ick to schpe hebbe bii 3 hondert mann"), but because they would not drink the beer provided for them Pawest purchased some better quality beer, paying 6 groschen per pipe.³⁴⁵ Paul Beneke, who was now aboard the caravel and seemed almost certain to become her new commander, helped to assemble and placate the crew.³⁴⁶ In spite of this, on 10 August Pawest was again having problems with them, probably due to late payment of their wages.³⁴⁷

Despite the threat from the English fleet, the long-heralded convoy of Hanseatic merchant ships finally came together. On 10 August it was decided that these vessels would be joined by the great caravel (which had doubtless been

footnote therein makes reference to complaints made on 29 May 1473 to Lübeck by captain/skipper Hans Rodenbecke, who took part in the battle). The burned Lübeck warships were next mentioned during the peace negotiations in Utrecht: HR II, 7, no. 141, paragraph 17.

339 HR, II/6, no. 557; cf. Zdrenka, *Ertmann*, p. 392, wherein we read that Ertmann had been in command of three ships and that he was taken prisoner on 6 July. Zdrenka suspects that Ertmann died in captivity, despite Berndt Pawest's attempts to secure his release.

340 HR, II/6, no. 559; see also Held, *Die Hanse*, p. 225.

341 Caspar Weinreich, p. 11.

342 HR, II/6, no. 557.

343 HR, II/6, no. 557 (21 July 1472).

344 HR, II/6, no. 558.

345 HR, II/6, no. 558.

346 HR, II/6, no. 557 (21 July); see no. 558 (23 July 1472) about Paul Beneke's help in assembling a crew. On 5 September 1472 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* informed the city council of Gdańsk that they had convinced the caravel's current captain (i.e. Berndt Pawest) to hire the services of skipper Paul Beneke, who was well-known in the North Sea (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 102).

347 HR, II/6, no. 559.

reloaded with cloth). Sailing via The Sound, the convoy's aim was reach the port of Travemünde (now part of Lübeck), and from there Berndt Pawest probably hoped to return to Gdańsk. But first he intended to navigate the caravel to the Elbe and to Hamburg, where he anticipated that the municipal authorities would help him find the 100–120 seamen still needed to make up a full crew.³⁴⁸ Writing of his intentions to the city council of Gdańsk, in what was to be his last report as commander of the caravel, he signed off with the words: "So God helpem dat wii upp de Ele kamen, so wolde ick alle dingk gerne bestellen und spreken mit den hern van Hamborch und Lubeck und vogen mii denne bii jw."³⁴⁹ Paul Beneke now took command of the caravel.³⁵⁰ The terms on which Beneke agreed to take up this post marked a departure from the way in which his predecessor had been remunerated for his service: in return for commanding the caravel he did not want a contractual wage, but, as mentioned earlier, a one-sixteenth share in her ownership. These demands were met,³⁵¹ though the whole process of his appointment probably took so long to finalise because Gdańsk's authorities had to be consulted to approve the conditions of employment that Beneke had clearly set out when first offered the post. The change of command aboard the caravel was reflected in *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik*, which recorded that in the autumn (September) of 1472 a large Hanseatic fleet set sail from the Zwin, and that the great caravel captained by Paul Beneke made her way to the Elbe accompanied by other warships.³⁵²

The convoy set sail around 5 September 1472. It was on that day that Berndt Pawest received payment from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* for guiding the fleet to the Elbe.³⁵³ He was paid "in advance",³⁵⁴ and thus it is reasonable to assume that Pawest – though no longer in charge of the great caravel – was

348 HR, II/6, no. 559.

349 HR, II/6, no. 559.

350 Although when writing to Gdańsk on 24 August the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* referred to Bernard Pawest as captain (commander) of the caravel, they were referring to the period during which he had been granted a loan, (i.e. up to July 1472).

351 HR, II/6, no. 528: an extensive register and passages of text; AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 102: letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to the city council of Gdańsk; *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage I, p. 95.

352 Caspar Weinreich, p. 11: "Item Anno 72 im Herbst sigeldten die schiffe ausz der swene mit Grossem Gut wol mit 800 terling lakenn, und das grosse krauel furte der schipper Paul Benke' sein krauel bleib vor der Slusz auf dem mittellsande; Die schiffe aber kwemen wola uf die elbe".

353 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 102: letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to the city council of Gdańsk.

354 HR, II/6, no. 640.

commander of the entire convoy that left the Zwin. The whole journey to Hamburg lasted some 38–39 days, from around 5 September to 13 October.³⁵⁵

On 13 October 1472, after over a year's service aboard the caravel, Pawest disembarked on the banks of the Elbe and sailed back to Gdańsk.³⁵⁶ This meant that he had cancelled his plans to go to Travemünde. Given that it took around nine days to cover the distance from Lübeck to Gdańsk, the journey from Hamburg may have taken two or three days longer, hence Pawest could have reached Gdańsk in late October 1472. However, he was not destined to remain in his home city for very long, even though this was his fervent wish. By late 1472 it was believed that the war with England would soon come to an end, and preparations for peace talks were set in motion. This is best attested by the authorisations to conduct negotiations with the Hanse issued on 10 December 1472 by Edward IV to Louis de Bruges, Earl of Winchester and Lord of Gruthuyse and William Hatcliffe the king's secretary.³⁵⁷ Shortly thereafter Berndt Pawest also became involved in the peace talks in Utrecht (more of which in the following chapter) as the official representative of Gdańsk's city council.

355 HR, II/6, no. 641 (former ref. no. Schbl. 75, 554; source now missing): according to the editors, an undated list of financial accounts (income and expenditure) relating to the caravel, compiled by Paul Beneke, was drawn up on 22 February 1473. This document records payments made by Paul Beneke from 13 October (1472) to 14 February (1473). The first of these dates, therefore, marks both the moment when Berndt Pawest disembarked from the caravel and when Paul Beneke took over full responsibility for her.

356 As recorded in *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 11, p. 117.

357 HR, II/6, no. 637; see also no. 638 (21 January 1473) about the planned negotiations in Utrecht.

TABLE 9 List of places Berndt Pawest called at after his campaign in the North Sea

Date	Place	Reference
6 March 1472	<i>thor Slwsz int Swen, im groten carvel</i>	HR, II/6, no. 538
8 March 1472	<i>vor der Slusz int Swen</i>	HR, II/6, no. 539
12 March 1472	<i>vor der Slwsz im groten carveel, Peter genant, der stadt van Danczke</i>	HR, II/6, no. 540
14 March 1472	<i>int Swen, im groten carveel, Peter genant, der stadt van Danczk</i>	HR, II/6, no. 541
8 April 1472	<i>thor Slwsz in Vlanderen</i>	HR, II/6, no. 542
8 April 1472	<i>thor Slwsz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 543
15 April	<i>to Brugge</i>	HR, II/6, no. 544
28 April 1472	<i>to Brugge</i>	HR, II/6, no. 545
10 May 1472	<i>thor Slwes</i>	HR, II/6, no. 547
21 May 1472	<i>to Brugge</i>	HR, II/6, no. 548
30 May 1472	<i>im carveel</i>	HR, II/6, no. 549
3 June 1472	<i>thor Sluws</i>	HR, II/6, no. 550
12 June 1472	<i>to der Scluz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 551
14 June 1472	<i>thor Slus</i>	HR, II/6, no. 552
20 June 1472	<i>thor Slwsz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 553
26 June 1472	<i>to der Scluz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 553 (annotation)
28 June 1472	<i>thor Slwsz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 554
30 June 1472	<i>thor Slusz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 555
2 July 1472	<i>to Brughe</i>	HR, II/6, no. 556
21 July 1472	<i>to der Scluz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 557
23 July 1472	<i>in Swen im carveel</i>	HR, II/6, no. 558
10 August 1472	<i>thor Sluesz</i>	HR, II/6, no. 559

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 10 List of loans (including personal contributions) and expenses incurred by Berndt Pawest to maintain the caravel and her crew

Date	Loan: amount and lender	Other sources of funding	Purpose	Source
October–November 1471	32 Flemish pounds groschen and 19 <i>skojecs</i> : merchants from Ghent		Caravel maintenance	HR, II/6, nos. 530, 532, (mention of 80 pounds in total)
	45 Flemish pounds groschen borrowed from Albrecht Gise, Claus Veeren and Valandt			
November 1471	Personal contribution of 20 Flemish pounds groschen		Repair and upkeep of caravel; 18 florins of this sum may have been used to pay harbour pilots	HR, II/6, no. 532
November 1471		Sale of potash	Purchase of meat, herring, beer, butter, cheese	HR, II/6, no. 532
December 1471		Sale of masts and cables for a total of 127 pounds	Purchase of meat, herring, beer, gun-powder and other items	HR, II/6, no. 534
January 1472			54 florins paid to a harbour pilot	HR, II/6, no. 537
May 1472	Francisco Lecavelum and Pasqueir Garneis each lent 50 Flemish pounds groschen for 23 days		Purchase of food, including meat, pork fat and beer for the crew; wages	HR, II/6, no. 549, 551
May 1472	Loan (amount and lender unspecified) possibly for around 60 pounds from the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i>		12 lasts of meat and 1 last of butter	HR, II/6, no. 554

TABLE 10 List of loans (including personal contributions) and expenses incurred (*cont.*)

Date	Loan: amount and lender	Other sources of funding	Purpose	Source
Summer 1472	Loan (amount unspecified) from Thonyes Eggers		Purchase of anchor	
30 June 1472	120 pounds lent by Bertram Bereckhoff and Johan van der Lucht		Wages and repairs	
Before 2 July 1472	130 pounds			

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

Under the Command of Paul Beneke

1 In Hamburg: New Owners

Before examining the caravel's time in service under Paul Beneke, let us take a closer look at the man himself. It has been claimed in the literature that Paul may have been a relative (a brother or more distant relation) of the Gdańsk skipper Michael Benek, who sailed the seas during 1453–1460. Legend has it that Paul was a foundling who had been brought up by the famous privateer Kurt Bokelmann. Gdańsk's land register records show that after 1475 Paul Beneke was the owner of a house on the street called *ulica Świętego Ducha*, at the end near *ulica Węglarska*.¹

As mentioned earlier, in the autumn of 1469 Paul Beneke had taken part in the Hanseatic war against England, carrying out attacks on English and French merchant ships together with Martin Bardewick.² He had also been involved in other raids. At some point before 28 August 1469, as captain of the hulk *Sent Joori*, he and his business partner, skipper Hanse Niwe of Hamburg, had come into conflict with Alvaro Denis, a Portuguese merchant from Setúbal (south of Lisbon), over a cargo of salt and cork which they had been shipping for him.³ In early 1470, sailing aboard a *barse*,⁴ Beneke and Martin Bardewick,

1 This information appears in a footnote to *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche* (hereinafter *Caspar Weinreich*), eds. Theodor Hirsch and Friedrich August Vossberg, Berlin 1855 (1973 reprint), p. 6, and also in SRP, IV, p. 731, n. 5, wherein we read that Beneke died in 1480, and that by 1481 his daughter Elisabeth had replaced him in the land register. According to Hirsch and Vossberg, Paul's wife in 1475 was "Pathe der Ortke (Dorothea) Herzberg", later wife of Christoph Beyer. Joachim Zdrenka ("Beneke Paweł [ok. 1430–1477], żeglarz i kaper gdański", in: *SBPN*, I, p. 88) concluded that all we know about Paul Beneke's wife is that which Caspar Weinreich recorded: "According to this source, Beneke's wife was the god-mother of Margarethe Herzberg, who later married councillor Christoph Beyer". In fact there is no mention of this in Weinreich's chronicle; cf. also Zdrenka, *Urządnicy*, p. 35: Christoph Beyer married his first wife, name unknown, c. 1478 and she died in 1490; his second wife was Margarethe Herzberg.

2 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 5 (entry for 1469) and Beilage I, p. 95.

3 HU, 9, no. 633; see also Andreas Kammler, *Up Eventur. Untersuchungen zur Kaperschiffahrt 1471–1512, vornehmlich nach Hamburger und Lübecker Quellen*, Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte, 37, St. Katharinen 2005, p. 79, n. 267.

4 Kammler (*Up Eventur*, pp. 125–27) remarks that what type of ship "der Barse" was remains a mystery. In the medieval period this term denoted ships of various sizes: from very small

captaining a caravel, seized the 300-last English ship *Joen from Newcastle* in the English Channel, and within eight days they reached Berszhuck⁵ (the harbour on the then island of Walcheren). In the autumn of 1470 Beneke led further raids, targeting non-Hanseatic merchants and selling the goods he seized from them to the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges.⁶ In 1470, during the *Bamissemarkt* (a large fair held in Antwerp at the beginning of October to mark the feast of St Bavo),⁷ somewhere in the vicinity of “Schitland” off the coast of “Flak”,⁸ Beneke “mit dem barse” teamed up with Jacob Voes and Herman Ringk in an attack on ships sailing to Scotland in the service of the duke of Burgundy.⁹ In 1471 he waylaid two vessels from Normandy: *Madeleine* of Dieppe and *Schwan* of Caen. Sailing aboard the latter was Thomas Cook, sheriff (1453–1454) and later mayor of London (1462–1463), whom he took captive.¹⁰ According to some historians

ones capable of taking four/five people to large vessels with a cargo capacity of as much as 250 lasts. In addition he points out that the terms “Bardese” and “Barken” also appear in the sources, the latter referring to a ship with a single mast, though three-masted varieties were also noted.

- 5 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 6; see also Beilage I, p. 95; Beilage II, no. 16; cf. Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. I, Danzig 1913, p. 289. On Paul Beneke's exploits (though without details) see also Karl Koppmann, “Beneke Paul”, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1875, p. 330; Arthur Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, Heidelberg 1904, p. 92.
- 6 HU, 9, no. 796: on 11 December 1470 the city of Kampen demanded the return of goods owned by Scottish merchants; this letter included a reference to “Pouwel heest die schipper”, which the editors probably rightly took to mean Paul Beneke (n. 5). See also HR, II/6, p. 371, n. 2. Paul Beneke's feats in the North Sea are also mentioned in a report (financial account) of the city of Friesland covering the period from September 1470 to September 1471, an excerpt of which is cited in HU, 10, p. 33, n. 2.
- 7 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 7, n. 4 mentions a feast held in honour of St “Bamissa”. This was a reference to St Bavo (Bavon), who lived in what is now Belgium and died on 1 October 653 or 654; the cathedral in Ghent is dedicated to St Bavo.
- 8 The editors of *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 7, n. 5) remark that this may have been a reference to either “Flak” in Zuidersee, or “Flake” on the northern shores of the island of Ouerflake; another possibility is the sea coast of the island of Walcheren.
- 9 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 7; see also footnotes and HR, II/6, p. 370, n. 2.
- 10 For more about this individual see Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages. Government and People 1200–1500*, Oxford 2005, pp. 306 and 343–44 (Appendix 1: Mayors and Sheriffs). Cook was a draper, and an alderman during 1456–1471, who wrote a handbook on work in public office. According to *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 9) in 1471 Paul Beneke supposedly took captive Tomas Kuegk, mayor of London (“nam Paul Benke die madlene von Diepen und den schwaß von Kaen; do kreig er innen den meier von Lunden, der hiez Tomes Kuegk”); see also Hans Fiedler, “Danzig und England. Die Handelsbestrebungen der Engländer vom Ende des 14. bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts”, *ZWG*, 68, 1928, p. 95; Otto Held, “Die Hanse und Frankreich im 15. Jahrh. bis auf Karl VIII” *HGB I*, 18, 1912, p. 219, citing HU, IX, no. 784 (and footnote) and HR, II/6, no. 476. The first of these (HU, IX, no. 784) is a letter of 24 October 1470(!) from Henrich van Kandry, imperial lawyer, to Cologne

Beneke was already commander of *Peter von Danzig* by June 1472;¹¹ however, as noted in the previous chapter, the sources indicate that he took up this post sometime between 24 August and 5 September 1472. Whatever the case may have been, even though the whole Hanseatic fleet was commanded by Berndt Pawest when it left the Zwin, it was Paul Beneke who sailed the caravel to the Elbe and the port of Hamburg. Once Berndt Pawest had disembarked, from 13 October 1472 the ship's fate lay entirely in the hands of Paul Beneke.

In bidding farewell to the outgoing commander, Beneke presented Pawest with a bill for the crew's upkeep and the ship's running costs for the passage from the Zwin to Hamburg.¹²

Paul Beneke began his tenure by ensuring that the damage which the ship had suffered en route from the Zwin was repaired and by making preparations for her to overwinter in Hamburg.¹³ In the first instance he commissioned a new sail to be made (at one of Hamburg's monasteries), most probably to replace one that had been torn during the voyage to the Elbe.¹⁴ The second task involved securing regular pay for those seamen who had agreed to remain aboard ship during the winter break in sailing. On 13 October 1472, following Berndt Pawest's departure, Beneke spent 48½ Lübeck marks on the ship and her crew.¹⁵ He then paid out 33½ Lübeck marks to 32 of his crewmen¹⁶ (referred to as "old" and "young" crew, most likely in reference to their length of service rather than their age) for a month's work, each man receiving 1 mark, apart from the helmsman who was paid 1½ marks. For the next month (November) he paid 30 crew members, including the helmsman, a total

about (among other things) a Hanseatic raid on Breton ships in Burgundian territorial waters, whilst HR, II, 6, no. 476 is a letter of 25 September 1471 from deputies of Lübeck to Spanish merchants about a raid on two Spanish ships, including the hulk *Sancta crux de Rauterie*, carried out by three Hanseatic privateers from the Zwin region. Thus, these sources make no mention of an attack on a mayor but merely confirm that acts of privateering took place, often instigated by members of the Hanse. Notably, Held does not make any reference to Caspar Weinreich's chronicle. Simson (op. cit., p. 290) cites earlier literature. Zdrenka (*Beneke Paweł*, p. 87) identifies this individual as Tomas Kriegk.

11 Zdrenka, *Beneke Paweł* pp. 87–88.

12 This bill is mentioned in a letter of 14 February 1473 from Paul Beneke to Gdańsk: HR, II/6, no. 640.

13 Hanseatic ships were prohibited from making crossings of the North Sea and the Baltic between November and February and had to remain in port. On the overwintering of privateer ships in Hamburg see A. Kammler, *Up Eventur*, p. 44, n. 155.

14 HR, II/6, no. 641.

15 HR, II/6, no. 641: statement of expenditure drawn up by Paul Beneke on 22 February 1473.

16 This probably meant the mariners who made up the operating crew and not mercenaries, who would have been surplus to requirements during a stay in port.

of 30½ Lübeck marks.¹⁷ In order to provide the crew with food for the winter, Beneke bought meat (for 5 marks and 6 *skojecs*) and made several purchases of beer (see Table 11),¹⁸ paying 38 marks and 7 *skojecs*, 27 marks and 6 *skojecs*, and 18 marks respectively (hence 83 marks and 13 *skojecs* in total). He also paid mooring tolls of 8 Lübeck marks in the port of Hamburg at an unspecified point in time.¹⁹ Financial accounts for the period from 4 December 1472 to 14 February 1473 reveal that he spent 63 Lübeck marks and 12 *skojecs* on payments for 25 crew, including the helmsman, each of them receiving 4 *skojecs* for a week's work.²⁰ All of this goes to show that although initially, in October, 32 crew members had stayed on aboard the caravel, by November there were 30 of them, and by December only 25 remained.

Meanwhile, because of the changing political situation and planned peace negotiations between England and the Hanse, by 18 January 1473 Gdańsk's city council had decided to sell the caravel (which still remained in Hamburg) to private owners: Gdańsk citizens Johann Sidinghusen, Tiedemann Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof.²¹ The costs involved in maintaining the warship probably also contributed to this decision, which the city council may have been considering for some time, or at least since August 1472, when the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* had reminded them that by December of that year they should repay the loans which Berndt Pawest had taken out from Hanseatic merchants to cover expenses relating to the caravel. The council's agreement to transfer a one-sixteenth share in ownership of the caravel to Paul Beneke heralded that a change was afoot.²² The ultimate motivation for selling the ship was probably the fact that by the end of 1472 the municipal authorities of Gdańsk, Lübeck and Hamburg were set on engaging in peace talks rather than warfare with the English.²³

It is worth outlining a few details about the caravel's new owners. Johann Sidinghusen came from Soest in Westphalia, where he was born around 1438; he died in Gdańsk on 29 September 1510. In 1468 he married the daughter of

17 HR, II/6, no. 641, see n. 2 and 3, wherein the editors remark that this payment was for a month's service in winter, giving no further explanation.

18 HR, II/6, no. 641, n. 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 (payment for two lasts was still outstanding, though the amount is not specified).

19 HR, II/6, no. 641, n. 8.

20 HR, II/6, no. 641, n. 4.

21 This can be deduced from letters written in February 1473 by the city councils of Hamburg and Lübeck (see below): HR, II/6, nos. 642 and 643.

22 HR, II/6, no. 528 (extensive calendar and passages of text); see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 102: letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to the city council of Gdańsk; *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage, I, p. 95.

23 See HR, II/6, nos. 644 and 645.

Wilhelm von Oringen.²⁴ He formed a syndicate in 1467 together with Johann Ferber and Heinrich Stover. The syndicate's goods (including figs, raisins, Rhenish wine cheese and Flemish herring) were being shipped aboard a caravel owned by skipper Wolter Johanszon von Arnemuiden when she was attacked²⁵ off the coast of Zeeland by subjects of King Christian I of Denmark.²⁶ As mentioned previously, Johann Sidinghusen had been one of the three guarantors of the loan granted to Berndt Pawest for repairs to the caravel at the time when Pawest had been her commander (Chapter 2). In February 1473 Johann Sidinghusen was elected as a magistrate.²⁷ The second of the caravel's new owners, Tiedemann Valandt, was born around 1440 in Gdańsk, and died there in 1492. He held a succession of civic posts, becoming a magistrate in 1473, a councillor in 1477, and a judge in 1481.²⁸ Little is known about Heinrich Niederhof. The fact that his father, Heinrich Reinhold Niederhof, was a mayor and burgrave of Gdańsk at the time²⁹ may well explain why his son was able to become a co-owner of the caravel. The law dictated that when she was sold, the onus of repaying the Hanseatic creditors passed from the city council of Gdańsk to the ship's new owners. We do not know whether any kind of settlement was made with these creditors at the time, or whether Johann Sidinghusen along with Tiedemann Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof (in place of Caspar Lange and Albert Brambeke) now became liable for the debt.

As part of the preparations to sell the ship, on 18 January 1473 the city council of Gdańsk wrote to Paul Beneke requesting that he send a list of expenses for the upkeep of the caravel.³⁰ The city authorities wrote him another letter on the same subject on 6 February 1473; Beneke's reply was penned on 14 February. He confirmed that he had been notified about the sale of the great caravel and promised that if the council sent him "a good man" he would entrust the warship to him.³¹ This suggests that he was expecting someone else to take over from him as the ship's commander after she had been sold. Beneke also reminded the council that he had settled an account concerning the upkeep of

24 See Weichbrodt, 4, p. 307.

25 HU, 9, no. 363: the injured parties included Reinhold Niederhof, whilst Tidemann Bige lost cloth, jewels and armour.

26 HU, 9, no. 363: complaint made on 4 May 1467 by the city council of Gdańsk to King Christian I of Denmark.

27 Joachim Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, 1: Spisy, Gdańsk 2008, p. 60; see also 11: Biogramy, Gdańsk 2008, p. 323.

28 Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy*, 11, p. 354.

29 Ibidem, 11, p. 224.

30 HR, II/6, no. 640, 16 February 1473.

31 HR, II/6, no. 640.

the caravel for the voyage from the Zwin to Hamburg (up to 13 October 1472), and had given the relevant bill to Berndt Pawest before the latter had returned to Gdańsk.³² Finally, he drew up a statement of receipts and expenditure incurred as commander of the caravel from 13 October 1472 to 14 February 1473.³³ It should, however, be noted that this statement does not always specify what period these expenses covered (see Table 11).

This statement reveals that Beneke's expenses came to over 328 marks, almost half of this sum going on wages for the ship's crew, which came to approximately 153 Lübeck marks. If we add to this the 48½ Lübeck marks also paid in wages at the beginning of the caravel's stay in Hamburg, this brings the total to 201 marks and 12 *skojecs*. As previously stated, Paul Beneke spent around 83 marks and 7 *skojecs* on beer. His remaining expenditure went on purchases of various beverages and meat, on covering the ship's mooring costs and having a new sail made. In contrast, his receipts were much lower: he took 2½ marks for hiring out three anchors, received 234 Lübeck marks and 9 *skojecs* from the toll master in Hamburg, 12 marks from various other individuals (most probably as loans of some sort) and had 30 marks left over after settling his accounts with Berndt Pawest, yielding a grand total of 285 marks and 3 *skojecs*. This means that Paul Beneke would have had to add around another 43 marks (possibly of his own money) towards the maintenance costs of the caravel.

We do not know exactly when the sale of the caravel was finalised, though it probably took place after 22 February 1473. In any event, later that year – in the summer of 1473 – the aforementioned trio from Gdańsk were already being referred to as the owners (operators) of the great caravel. Despite this change in ownership, Paul Beneke was still commander of the warship and retained his one-sixteenth share in the profits from her operations.

It should also be noted that on 18 January 1473 the city council of Gdańsk wrote to its counterpart in Lübeck about the planned sale of the caravel, expressing the hope that she would be armed and ready to set out to war in the spring.³⁴ Lübeck did not reply until 19 February 1473, having earlier informed Hamburg's municipal authorities that the caravel was to be sold into private hands.³⁵ As mentioned earlier, everything indicates that the city councils of Gdańsk, Lübeck and Hamburg were more in favour of peace negotiations than

32 HR, II/6, no. 641, 22 February 1473.

33 HR, II/6, no. 642, 19 February 1473.

34 This is revealed in a letter of 19 February 1473 from Lübeck to Gdańsk: HR, II/6, no. 642, see also 643; cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage I, p. 95. The ship's sale is brought up again in a letter of 4 March 1474 from Gdańsk to Lübeck: HR, II/7, no. 137, wherein information about the large sums spent on her is also repeated.

35 HR, II/6, nos. 642, 643.

TABLE 11 Statement of receipts and expenditure relating to the caravel, drawn up by Paul Beneke on 22 February 1473

Debit			Credit		
Amount	Spent on	Date	Amount	Spent on	Date
48½ Lübeck marks	Victuals for the crew		48½ Lübeck marks		22 Feb date of statement
33½ Lübeck marks	Wages ^a		82 Lübeck marks		
30½ Lübeck marks	Wages ^b		112½ Lübeck marks		
25½ Lübeck marks	Wages ^c	4 Dec	138 Lübeck marks		
63 marks, 12 <i>skojecs</i>	Wages	4 Dec–14 Feb ^d	201 marks, 12 <i>skojecs</i>		
4 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i>	“bernnholt siipollen” and other small items		205 marks, 22 <i>skojecs</i>		
3 Lübeck marks, 6 <i>skojecs</i>	New sail ^e		208 marks, 28 <i>skojecs</i>		
8 marks	Mooring toll		217 marks, 4 <i>skojecs</i>		
			2½ marks	3 anchors ^f	2½ marks
			5½ marks	Received from Bertold	8 marks

TABLE 11 Statement of receipts and expenditure relating to the caravel (*cont.*)

Debit			Credit		
Amount	Spent on	Date	Amount	Spent on	Date
5 marks, 6 <i>skojecs</i>	Meat		222 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i>		
4 Lübeck marks	Various items		226 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i>		
8 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i>	Various items ^g		234 marks, 20 <i>skojecs</i>		
36.75 marks (0.75 marks = 18 <i>skojecs</i>) and 35 <i>skojecs</i> ^h = 38 marks and 7 <i>skojecs</i>	Beer – 3½ lasts		273 marks, 3 <i>skojecs</i>		
27 marks and 6 <i>skojecs</i>	3 lasts of beer at 9 marks per last and 6 <i>skojecs</i> additional costs		300 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>		
18 marks	2 lasts of beer (at 9 marks per last)		318 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>		

Debit			Credit		
Amount	Spent on	Date	Amount	Spent on	Date
?	Beer				
?	Sundries				
			234 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>	Received from the toll master in Hamburg	242 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>
			12 marks	? ?	254 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>
			30 marks		284 marks, 9 <i>skojecs</i>
8 marks, 10 <i>skojecs</i>	Owed to Pawest	?	326 marks, 19 <i>skojecs</i>		285 marks, 3 <i>skojecs</i>
			Total (as stated by source publishers): 328.1 marks		

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

- a 1½ marks going to the helmsman and the rest shared out between 32 crewmen (“young” and “old”).
- b As above, though now only 30 crewmen.
- c Paid out to 25 crewmen and the helmsman.
- d Paul Beneke stated that during this period 25 crew received 4 *skojecs* each for a week’s service.
- e Made at a Hamburg monastery.
- f Hired out to Hamburg, hence this is a rental payment.
- g “Items large and small that would take too long to enumerate”.
- h He recorded the purchase of 3½ lasts of beer at 10½ marks and 10 *skojecs* per last.

warfare with the English, and talk of any potential further naval action was now only being bandied around for propaganda purposes. Nobody, however, had taken into account that many of these grand Hanseatic plans would be called into question by Paul Beneke, who, instead of attacking enemy English ships, would carry out an audacious raid in the spring of 1473 on two galleys sailing under the neutral flag of Burgundy. This would prove to be the most spectacular operation involving the great caravel, which quickly garnered much attention, and centuries later is still a subject of keen interest, not only among historians.

2 Galleys

Given the impact of this event, it is worth taking a closer look at the two ships which crossed paths with the great caravel. Theodor Hirsch and Friedrich August Vossberg referred to them as “Galeyde” or “Galeere” (which can be translated as “galleys”),³⁶ each with a 138-foot-tall mast and a double forecastle (“Vorderkastele”) which they believed was installed to equip these ships for warfare.³⁷ The principle source on which they based their findings was Caspar Weinreich’s chronicle, which recorded: “Item den Anders dinstag noch pasca do nam Paul Benek mit dem Grossem krauel ein galeide von 23 faden mast, ein dupelt vorkastele.”³⁸ Hirsch and Vossberg claimed that one of the galleys had been built in England and was originally English-owned;³⁹ she was later seized

36 The vessel in question was a “large galley” – a ship equipped with three sails as well as oars. The term “galley” appeared in 42 language variations, including “Galeide”, as recorded in *Aak to Zumbra. A dictionary of the world's watercraft*, The Mariners’ Museum 2000, pp. 238–39, which was highlighted by Krzysztof Gerlach in his insightful article, “Tajemnicza galejda i absurdalny galeon czyli nieśmiertelna historia niekompetencji”, *Morza, Statki i Okręty*, 2009, no. 1, pp. 46–55. A glaring error in the literature (also pointed out by Gerlach) was the use of the word “galleon” for the ship captured by Paul Beneke and “brigantine” for the second vessel. In both cases this terminology is ahistorical. See Michał Walicki, *Hans Memling Sąd Ostateczny. Niedokończony rękopis opracował i uzupełnił Jan Białostocki*, Warsaw 1990 (third edition, 1981), pp. 7–8, wherein the term “galleon” is erroneously used. The most comprehensive study to date of medieval Florentine galleys is that by Michael Edward Mallett, *The Florentine galleys in the fifteenth century*, Oxford 1967, see in particular pp. 24–29, discussing the size and construction of these ships. In keeping with Mallett’s findings, the term “galley” is used herein.

37 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage I, p. 96.

38 Caspar Weinreich, p. 13.

39 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage I, p. 96. Although the source of this information is not cited it seems highly likely that the editors drew on the late modern chronicle of Reinhold Curicke (1610–1667): *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung, Worinnen von Ursprung*

by the French, before finally being bought back for 10,000–12,000 crowns by her former English owner.⁴⁰ In writing about this, Hirsch and Vossberg included a reference to a letter of 9 October 1473 written by Berndt Pawest (during his stay in Utrecht). However, careful reading of the letter reveals that Pawest actually stated that French privateers captured the galley together with other ships which belonged to the English (“wo dat de Fransoser hebben de galeyde genomen myt anderen schepen, de in engelant to hus horen”).⁴¹ Thus, there is no explicit assertion that the galley was an English one, but only that she was captured along with English-owned ships. Pawest went on to report that the ship was sold (by the French) for ten or twelve thousand crowns: “unde men secht hir dat se dat verte Gut unde wes Em dende ut der galeyde nomen, unde Hebbel en de galleide wedder vorkofft x oder xii dusent kronen”.⁴²

The literature does not support the theory that these galleys were built in England. Research carried out by scholars in the 20th century, based on analysis of documents including the correspondence of the Medici family and Italian sources, yielded a completely different picture to the one put forward by Hirsch and Vossberg. It was established that, in his eagerness to support the anti-Turkish crusade planned by Pope Pius II, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, ordered three galleys to be built in Pisa, securing the necessary funds

Situation Regiments-Art geführten Kriegen Religions- und Kirchen-Wesen ausführlich gehandelt wird. Verffast. 1645, (facsimile), III, c. xvii, who wrote about a raid carried out by Paul Beneke on the English ship St Thomas.

40 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage I, p. 96, the editors citing a letter published in Beilage II (no. 27). The letter in question was written in Utrecht on 9 October 1473 by Berndt Pawest; in it he mentions that “galeyde genomen myt anderen schepen, de in englant to hus horen, und men secht hir dat se dat vest git unde wes em dende vt der galeyde nomen, unde hebben en de galleide wedder vorkofft x edder xii dusent kronen unde dyt is de galleide, de pawel untsegele”. See also Eugen Remus, “Die Hanse und das Kantor zu Brügge am Ende des xv. Jahrhunderts”, *ZWG*, 30, 1892, p. 4, wherein, citing Detmar’s chronicle in the footnotes, it is claimed that the ship had already been taken from the English and subsequently purchased from them for 10,000–12,000 crowns. However, no mention of this is made in *Chronik des Franciscaner Lesemeisters Detmar nach der Urschrift und mit Ergänzungen aus andern Chroniken*, ed. Ferdinand Heinrich Grautoff, II Th, Hamburg 1830 (Googlebook version, accessed November 2010), p. 354.

41 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 27; HR, II/7, no. 55.

42 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage II, no. 27; cf. HR, II/7, no. 55; letter of 9 October 1473 from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk, written after receiving news from Jacob Vos via Gert Wisen, following their return from peace negotiations with Louis XI. This news seems to have concerned an attack by French vessels (details unknown) which resulted in the capture of a Burgundian galley and accompanying English ships operating off the English coast. There is nothing about who the French sold the galley to, though the context of events suggests that she was sold back to her original owners. Combining these reports with facts presented in the literature offers at least a hypothetical explanation of this incident (see below).

for this commission from the Medici bank. When Pius died suddenly on 15 August 1464 the idea of the crusade died with him, and it was mooted that the ships should be sold. To this end, Philip the Good's minister, Antoine de Croy, turned to the Florentine Tommaso Portinari for help in finding a potential buyer. However, as no interested parties were forthcoming, the galleys were hired to the Medici. One of the ships was damaged during her very first voyage and was retired from service. By 1466 the other two were serving as merchantmen (plying routes between Pisa, Bruges, London and occasionally Constantinople) and being chartered by the Bruges branch of the Medici bank. They had Florentine crews but sailed under the flag of Burgundy, which featured the cross of St Andrew,⁴³ comprising a red cross on a white field.

43 On the subject of these galleys see Armand Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, Brussels 1931, pp. XXX–XXXI, nos. 108, 114, 129, 133; Florence Edler de Roover, "A Prize of War: A Painting of Fifteenth-Century Merchants", *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, Vol. 19, 3–12, 1945, pp. 3–4; Idem, "Le voyage de Girolamo de Pisa à Bruges et retour a bord de la galère bourgignonne «San Giorgio»", *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 91, 1954, pp. 117–36 (I am grateful to Mr Hannes Lowagie of the University of Ghent, Belgium for sending me a scanned copy of this article); Raymond de Roover, *The rise and decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494*, Cambridge 1963, pp. 346–47, (see also p. 342, wherein information about the construction of three galleys based on a work unfortunately unavailable to me: Armand Grunzweig, "La Filiale de Bruges des Medici", *La Revue de la Banque*, 12, 79, 1948); Michael Edward Mallett, "Anglo-Florentine Commercial Relations, 1465–1491", *The Economy History Review*, New Series, vol. 15, 1962, no. 2, pp. 250–65; Idem, *The Florentine Galleys*, pp. 98–102. Echoing the findings of earlier scholars, Mallett explained that serving under the flag of Burgundy was in line with the guidelines set out in maritime legislation, specifically by the Florentine "Sea Consul", dictating that states should avoid partnerships with private shipowners. He contended that this manifestation of authority over Burgundian shipping was particularly significant during the course of events in 1470 preceding the war between Charles the Bold and King Louis XI of France. Mallett also pointed out that Tommaso Portinari and Piero de' Medici operated the two galleys on behalf of the Medici bank in Bruges. After Piero's death Tommaso took control of both ships. According to Mallett both galleys embarked on their first voyage between Flanders and England in the winter of 1468/69. By January 1469 they had reached London, and from there sailed to Porto Pisano (Pisa) via Tunis and Sicily, returning on 31 May 1469. They were subsequently prepared for their next voyage and loaded with alum at Civita Vecchia on 17 October, passing through Port-de-Bouc on 24 November 1469 and arriving at Sluis in early 1470. In June the galley captained by Francesco Sermattei reached Southampton, returning to the same port in December after having plied the North Sea. From Southampton the galleys set out on the return to Pisa, though we do not know when they arrived. Their next voyage was to Constantinople in 1472. On 26 September 1472 both galleys put to sea laden with alum, some of which was reloaded on to a Portuguese ship in Cadiz. Notably, none of the above authors noticed Berndt Pawest's aforementioned letter (of 9 October 1473), hence there is nothing in their narratives about a galley having been captured by the French. Similarly, Jacques Paviot, who also writes about the two galleys, makes no mention of this (*La politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne 1384–1482*, Lille 1995,

Analysis of the sources has revealed that one of the galleys was referred to interchangeably either as *St Andrew* or *St Matthew*. The first of these names was probably a nod to the principal patron saint of Burgundy,⁴⁴ i.e. the state which had commissioned the galley to be built. The alternative name was most likely given to the ship by the Florentines (the Medici). The second galley was named *St George*.⁴⁵

pp. 131, 162–64, 293–94), although he does cite fresh sources confirming that three galleys were built on the orders of Phillip the Good (these sources come from the Archives départementales du Nord, Lille). Paviot also addresses the problem of Charles the Bold's maritime operations during 1470–1471 against a fleet commanded by the earl of Warwick, who led to the dethronement of Edward IV and the restoration of Henry VI to the throne of England, with the backing of Louis XI. Paviot listed the Burgundian galleys among the warships engaged in action against the English in April 1470. Thus, although this subject would have to be probed more deeply, we cannot rule out that it was then that one of the galleys was captured by Warwick, an ally of France. This is the most likely explanation of the news in Berndt Pawest's letter about a galley having been captured by the French. On the subject of crusade plans, including those of Philip the Good, see also idem, *Les ducs de Bourgogne. La croisade et L'Orient (fin XIVe siècle – XVe siècle)*, Paris 2003, p. 117 ff. Art historians have also written about these galleys: Jan Białostocki, "Śąd Ostateczny Hansa Memlinga. Spostrzeżenia i analizy w oparciu o badania technologiczne", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 8, 1970, pp. 7–8; Barbara G. Lane, "The patron and the pirate: the mystery of Memling's Gdańsk Last Judgement", *The Art Bulletin*, December 1991, vol. 73, 4, p. 637.

44 On the subject of St Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy, see Antoni Ziemia, *Sztuka Burgundii i Niderlandów 1380–1500*, 1: *Sztuka dworu burgundzkiego oraz miast niderlandzkich*, Warsaw 2008, p. 56.

45 "Andrew" is given as the name of the ship captured by Paul Beneke in *Acts*, p. 68. In contrast, see *Journal di Girolamo*, p. 136: Girolamo Strozzi sailing aboard the galley *St George* noted that Hanseatics attacked "la galea San Matea". This second name may have had something to do with the ship's patron, Francesco di ser Matteo/Sermattei (of whom further details are given below). Cf. Hirsch and Vossberg, *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96, wherein it is claimed, probably based on Curicke's chronicle, that the galley captured by Paul Beneke was called *St Thomas*. This information was later uncritically repeated by Aby Warburg, "Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 23, 1902, p. 251, and by Otto Lienau, *Das grosse Karweel der Peter von Danzig 1462–1475. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Seegelung*, Danzig 1943, p. 32. A different opinion was voiced by Alfredo Reumont (*Di alcune relazioni dei Fiorentini colla città di Danzica*, Memoria, Archivio Storico Italiano, New Series, XLII, Part 1, 1861, p. 39), who also referred to the ship as *St Andrew* without citing his sources. This is also the name cited from the *Acts of the Mercers' Company of London* by David Beers Quinn and Alwyn Amy Ruddock in the introduction to *The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV*, Publications of the Southampton Record Society, no. 37, 1937, II, pp. XXXIII–XXXIV. Most historians have, however, stated that the ship seized by Paul Beneke was *St Matthew*, while the one that got away was *St George*: see F. de Roover, *Le voyage de Girolamo*, pp. 117–26; R. de Roover, *The rise*, p. 347 (though by way of exception, in this work the captured ship is referred to as *St George* and the other as *St Matthew*); cf. F. de Roover and R. de Roover, "A'propos du Jugement dernier

It is evident that Tommaso Portinari was an important figure, responsible for the operations of both ships and in particular for their loading in Bruges.⁴⁶ He was a representative of the famous Medici banking family, who had already made a name for themselves in Florence by the 13th century. Tommaso, the son of Folco and Caterina (daughter of Tommaso Piaciti),⁴⁷ was born around

de Jean Memlinc", in: *Spółeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Warsaw 1974, p. 281; Mallett, *Anglo-Florientine*, pp. 255–56; Idem, *The Florentine Galleys*, pp. 99–100; Walicki, op. cit., pp. 7–8, Paula Nuttall, "Memlinc's Last Judgement, Angelo Tani and the Florentine colony at Bruges", in: *Polish and English Responses to French Art and Architecture. Contrasts and similarities*, London 1995, p. 159 (the ships' names are switched: *St George* is said to be the captured galley); cf. idem, *From Flanders to Florence. The impact of Netherlandish Painting 1400–1500*, London 2004, p. 53 (*St Matthew* is identified as the captured ship); Till-Holger Borchert, "Memling – Leben und Werk", in: *Hans Memling. Portraits*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert, Bruges 2005, p. 22. Paviot was the first to draw attention to the fact that the captured ship went by two names, either *St Andrew* or *St Matthew* (*La Politique navale*, p. 164); he referred to the second galley as *St George*.

- 46 No dedicated study of Tommaso Portinari has appeared to date, though notable earlier works in which he features include Otto Meltzing, "Tommaso Portinari und sein Konflikt mit der Hanse", *HGB I*, 1906, p. 102; Grunzweig, op. cit., pp. ix–xiv; and Heinrich Sieveking, *Die Handlungsbücher der Medici*, 1905, p. 52. The greatest amount of biographical information about Tommaso Portinari and his various fields of activity can be found in Raymond de Roover, *Money, banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges. Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers. A Study in the Origins of Banking*, Cambridge 1948; and in particular idem, *The rise*; Richard J. Walsh, *Charles the Bold and Italy (1467–1477): Politics and Personnel. With a Postscript and Bibliographical Supplement by Werner Paravicini and an Editorial Preface by Cecil H. Clough*, Liverpool 2005, pp. 120–53 (Relations with Florence and the activities of Tommaso Portinari); as well as in an article by Marc Boone ("Apologie d'un banquier médiéval: Tommaso Portinari et l'État bourguignon", *Le Moyen Âge* 105, 1999, pp. 31–54). Tommaso Portinari also appears as a marginal figure in studies written by art historians, not least because he commissioned several significant works of art, see for example: Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, and the catalogue *Hans Memling. Portraits*. Nuttall contributes an important analysis of Memling's paintings, including his portraits of Tommaso Portinari, in the aforementioned catalogue: "Memling und das europäisch Portrait der Renaissance", in: *Hans Memling. Portraits*, pp. 68–91. On altarpieces commissioned by Italian bankers in Bruges see also Peter Jezler, "Niederländische Altartafel für italienische Bankiers", in: *Karl der Kühne (1433–1477). Kunst, Krieg und Hofkultur*, eds. Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck, Historische Museum Bern, Bruggmuseum und Groningemuseum Brügge, Bern, 2008–2009 (exhibition catalogue), pp. 238–41; Susanne Franke, *Between status and spiritual salvation: New data on the Portinari triptych and the circumstances of its commission*, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/445/1/Franke_Portinari2008.pdf, access 26 July 2019.

- 47 *Carteggi Diplomatici Fra Milano Sforzesca e la Borgogna: 8 Marzo 1453–12 Luglio 1475*, (hereinafter: *Carteggi*), ed. Ernesto Sestan, Roma 1985, no. 109, footnote. Pigello Portinari is referred to therein as the brother of Tommaso and Bendetto.

1428⁴⁸ and had two older brothers: Pigello and Accerito. After the death of their father (in 1431) the brothers were left in the care of Cosimo de' Medici, and were later employed at branches of the Medici family bank: Pigello and Accerito (di Fulco) in Milan, and Tommaso in Bruges.⁴⁹ The sources record that he was already working in that city in 1453, whilst in 1455 he was referred to as a Florentine merchant who had joint business interests with Pierro de' Medici.⁵⁰ Tommaso Portinari, together with other members of his family, contributed two shares to the Bruges branch of the Medici bank, amounting to a 15% stake in ownership. Over the years there were various partners at the Bruges branch. A contract of August 1465 names Pierro de' Medici, Angelo Tani and Tommaso Portinari as partners; in October 1469 the partners were Lorenzo and Giuliano di Piero de' Medici, Angelo Tani, Tommaso Portinari and Antonio de' Medici, whilst on 12 May 1471 the contracting parties were largely unchanged, except that Antonio Medici was replaced by Tommaso Giudetti.⁵¹ Notably, these partnerships traded in alum (maintaining a virtual monopoly over it),⁵² a very valuable mineral which was used above all in textile dying and leather tanning. The use of alum in the dying process ensured that silks, wools and various other fabrics would retain their colour. In later years it was also used in medicine as an agent for staunching blood flow.⁵³ It was initially imported via the Levant, primarily from Phocaea, located on the Turkish coast, north of the Gulf of Izmir (formerly Smyrna). Political complications, the war with Turkey and papal plans for crusade in the latter half of the 15th century resulted in the focus shifting to alum deposits in the mountains around Tolfa, in the Lazio region (Italy), hence within the territories of the Papal State. Alum from Tolfa proved to be of even higher quality than Turkish alum, and the

48 Cf. Meltzing, *op. cit.*, p. 105, citing 1432 as the year of his birth. Walsh (*op. cit.*, p. 121) has it as 1428, as do most other authors.

49 Boone, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

50 Louis Gilliodts-van Severen *Cartualrie de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges*, II, Bruges 1905, nos. 924, 927, 958.

51 R. de Roover (*Money*, pp. 36, 40–41, 46, n. 53) cites an interesting passage from a letter from Portinari to his brother, in which he states that he prefers honour over money and would rather be poor than rich under Angelo Tani, manager of the Bruges branch. See also R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 92–94.

52 On this topic see Adolf Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Finanzwesens und des Endenden Mittelalters*, Innsbruck 1889, pp. 298–99, wherein the author asserts that in 1468 Tommaso Portinari was trading in alum on behalf of the Medici. He also refers to the papal ban on trade in foreign (Turkish) alum within the Duchy of Burgundy in 1470 and 1471; R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 152–64, index; Boone, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–47.

53 Gottlob, *op. cit.*; see also Goswin von der Ropp, "Zur Geschichte des Alaunhandels im 15. Jahrhundert", *HGB*, 1901 (1900), p. 119 ff. R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 152–61.

papacy had a monopoly on its extraction and trade.⁵⁴ In April 1466 Pope Paul II concluded an agreement with the Medici bank for the mining and sale of Tolfa alum. Because of his crusading plans, the pope (first Paul II and then Sixtus IV) did not want Christian Europe to buy Turkish alum.⁵⁵ The market for “papal alum” included the Duchy of Burgundy and England, both major textile manufacturers. It is worth adding that the interests of the Medici, who did business with Bruges, were further bolstered by the ban on imports of non-Roman alum issued in 1468 by Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Another significant fact was that the duke had granted the Medici the toll of Gravelines, which was levied on the borderlands of the English realm near Calais. Thus the Medici collected duties imposed on the transit of English wool.⁵⁶

In addition to his aforementioned activities, Tommaso Portinari also became involved with the Burgundian court, initially as a confidant of Philip the Good (1396–1467), and later of his son Charles the Bold (1433–1477), who became duke of Burgundy in 1467.⁵⁷ By April of 1463, Charles the Bold was sending Portinari to the Sforza court in Milan. In a letter of recommendation the duke referred to Tommaso as a “mercatoris Fiorentini” residing in Bruges.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, on 7 August 1463, Francesco I Sforza, duke of Milan, wrote to Philip the Good informing him that he was sending his letter via Tommaso Portinari.⁵⁹ Portinari was used once again as an envoy to Milan in May 1465, when Charles the Bold (by then ruler of Burgundy) described him as “Thomas Portunare man conseiller et servitener especial”.⁶⁰ As Richard J. Walsh observed, Tommaso Portinari was a very useful envoy to Milan, if only because he enabled both letters and money to be sent safely to that city from Bruges. Tommaso’s usefulness also stemmed from the fact that his older brothers were managers of the Medici’s Milan branch.⁶¹

Tommaso Portinari also played an important role in arranging the marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York, sister of King Edward IV of England.

54 Gottlob, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–83; also on this subject see von der Ropp, *op. cit.*, p. 119 ff.

55 Gottlob, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–87; 297 ff.

56 Ivan Cloulas, *Wawrzyniec Wspaniały*, Warsaw 1988, p. 129.

57 Boone, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–54, deals extensively with this subject.

58 *Carteggi*, no. 96, p. 166. On serving at the courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, see also Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff.

59 *Carteggi*, no. 110, but cf. also no. 109, in which Sforza again writes to Duke Charles about Tommaso Portinari.

60 *Carteggi*, no. 134, as well as later letters no. 143 (5 December 1465) and no. 151 (8 April 1468, letter from Tommaso to Bruges); the letters of Pietro Aliprandi, apostolic nuncio in England, written in Brussels to the Sforza family, also make mention of Portinari’s missions (nos. 191, 192 ff).

61 Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–25.

On 16 February 1468 it was agreed that Edward would pay the duke of Burgundy 200,000 *livres* (of 50 *gros*) as Margaret's dowry, and that this money would reach the duke through Portinari.⁶² On 3 July 1468, the first instalment of 50,000 *ecus* was transferred through the Florentine merchant, just before the ducal pair's wedding on 9 July. Further instalments were also passed on to Charles the Bold through Tommaso Portinari.⁶³ The marriage of Charles and Margaret was marked by a special parade led by Tommaso Portinari,⁶⁴ and in later years Portinari made loans to the duke, lending him 36,000 *livres* (of 40 *gros*) in 1471.⁶⁵

Crucially, Tommaso Portinari also held shares in the two earlier mentioned Burgundian galleys. Although in 1470 he sold seven-eighths of his shares in them to a syndicate run by his relative Giovanni d'Adoardo Portinari,⁶⁶ he was still a co-owner of these ships.

There is one other record relating to Tommaso Portinari that is worth highlighting. Sometime before 12 November 1472 (hence about six months prior to the "incident"), Goedert Hauysser of Cologne had talked with Tommaso Portinari in Bruges, and the latter admitted that he had taken the risk of purchasing English cloth which was unlicensed for transit through Flanders.⁶⁷ This tells us, firstly, that not all of Portinari's commercial dealings were entirely above board, secondly, that he was a very well-known figure and, thirdly, that nothing escaped the attention of merchants (in Bruges or elsewhere). Be that as it may, on 26 March 1473 Tommaso's contract as manager of the Bruges branch had been renewed and extended to the spring of 1478, with Cristofano Spini entering the partnership.⁶⁸

62 Ibidem, pp. 129–30.

63 Ibidem, pp. 129–30. Walsh explains that in 1477, when Duke Charles died, Edward IV still had to pay off around 40 per cent of the sum agreed.

64 R. de Roover, *Money*, p. 21.

65 R. de Roover, *Money*, p. 87. In 1457 Angelo Tani and Tommaso Portinari, managers of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank, wrote to Florence about consenting to the sale of silk on credit to the duke (court) of Burgundy; Cloulas, op. cit., pp. 124, 129; R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 343–46, Walsh, op. cit., p. 131.

66 R. de Roover (*The rise*, pp. 343–44) suggests that rather than Portinari it was the Bruges branch that sold its property rights in the galleys. He also states that Tommaso was entitled to a 27.5% share of the profits made by the Bruges branch.

67 HU, 10, no. 166. This information comes from a letter of 12 November in which Hauysser advised Gerhard von Wesel to obtain a licence from the Hanseatic *Kontor* in London via the Lord of Gruuthuse, and to send the English cloth to the customs house in Bergen op Zoom; see also *Carteggi*, 181, p. 292: letter of 25 November 1472 from Pietro Aliprandi to Maria, duchess of Milan, written in Gravelines, and including references to Hanseatic naval operations.

68 R. de Roover, *The rise*, p. 345.

Returning to the subject of the two Burgundian galleys, the episode of interest to this study began in the autumn of 1472, when both ships left Porto Pisano.⁶⁹ After a stopover near Bruges they were due to enter the Thames and call at the port of London.⁷⁰ The journal of Girolamo (di Carlo di Marco) Strozzi, a merchant who took part in this voyage, records that he sailed aboard the galley *St George*, whose captain was Antonio di Nicholo Popoleschi.⁷¹ The second galley, *St Andrew/St Matthew*, was captained by Francesco di ser Matteo,⁷² who is identified in the literature with Francesco di ser Matteo Tedaldi⁷³ or Francesco Sermattei, not to be confused with Francesco Tedaldi.⁷⁴

It is important, not only in terms of the raid itself but also its later repercussions, to devote some attention to the heraldic symbols on the flags flown by the galleys. Sources of both Burgundian and Hanseatic origin (from the Bruges *Kontor*), as well as English records consistently confirm that the galley at the heart of this episode flew the flag of Burgundy (featuring the red cross of St Andrew) and the Burgundian coat of arms,⁷⁵ but without going into any further

69 *Journal di Girolamo*, p. 135 cf. 121 ff.

70 *Acts*, pp. 68–69: “Galoyes of Burgoyne”.

71 *Journal di Girolamo*, p. 135 cf. 121 ff.; cf. Białostocki, *Sąd Ostateczny Hansa Memlinga*, p. 7: Francesco di Messer Tedaldi.

72 The fact that the patron of the galley was Franchois S. Mathey is mentioned in a letter of 5 March 1474 from the deputies (aldermen) of the Four Members of Flanders to Gdańsk (see HR, II/7, no. 171), and in *Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, ed. Karl Koppmann, Bd. 3 (1471–1500), Hamburg 1878, p. 116, where a different spelling is used (Franciscus Tzirmattei de Florencia) and he is referred to as the captain of the galley; see also below.

73 F. de Roover, *Le voyage*, pp. 120–21; R. de Roover, *The rise*, p. 342 ff. (index); however cf. F. de Roover and R. de Roover, *A’propos du Jugement*, p. 281, n. 19, relating that the patron was Francesco Sermatti, though the surname was spelled Sofferoni up until 1430.

74 According to Hirsch and Vossberg (*Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96), the captain was a Frenchman, a claim also made by Lieanu (*Der Peter*, p. 32). Most historians have written about him either without specifying his nationality, or stating that he was Italian (von Reumont, op. cit., p. 39). Mallett (*Anglo-Florentine*, p. 256) added that the captain/patron of the captured galley was called Francesco di Ser Matteo Tedaldi, whilst the other galley was captained by Antonio Popleschi; however, in a later work (*The Florentine galleys*, pp. 99–100) he concluded that Francesco Sermattei and Francesco Tedaldi were two different people. Mallett based his deduction on an analysis of the sources, including letters written by both men (L’Archivio di Stato Firenze, Mediceo avanti il Principato, Filze 28, nos. 346, 356, 498 – which mention Sermattei, and Filze 20, nos. 503, 508 – which mention Tedaldi). (also accessible at <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/rMap>). A detailed examination of these letters led Mallett to believe that Francesco Tedaldi was only the patron or captain of *St George*. Meanwhile Paviot (*La Politique navale*, p. 164) contends that in 1470 Francesco Sermattei was the patron of the galley *St Andrew*, while Piero d’Antonio da Rabatta was the patron of *St George*.

75 This is reported in a letter of 8 May 1473 from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*: HR, II/7, no. 28 (extensive calendar); cf. AP Gdańsk 300 D/21, no. 111. Similar information is

detail. This would have been an easily comprehensible description at the time, but its exact meaning is not necessarily quite as obvious to a modern reader. The Burgundian coat of arms changed in line with political and territorial changes within the duchy. Charles the Bold's standard featured gold fleur-de-lis on a blue field: a reference to the coat of arms of the House of Valois, from which John II the Good, king of France (1350–1364), was descended. John had granted the duchy of Burgundy to his son, Philip the Bold (founder of the Burgundian branch of the House of Valois). Philip the Bold (1363–1404) expanded the duchy northwards by acquiring the counties of Flanders and Artois, and southwards through the acquisition of the county of Nevers. The quartered shield of his coat of arms, in addition to featuring the Valois gold fleur-de-lis on a blue field (in the first and fourth quarters) within a red and white bordure, also included diagonal blue and gold bands (in the second and third quarters), symbolising the duchy of Burgundy. The next duke of Burgundy, his Philip the Bold son, John the Fearless (1404–1419), introduced an additional device: an inescutcheon with a black lion rampant on a gold field, positioned in the middle of the quartered coat of arms described above. The black lion is the emblem of the county of Flanders.⁷⁶ John's son Philip the Good (1419–67) enlarged the duchy both to the north and south, which was reflected in his coat of arms. The design remained quartered with a central inescutcheon. The first and fourth quarters remained unchanged (gold fleur-de-lis on a blue field), the second quarter was divided vertically in two and featured diagonal blue and gold bands in the dexter half, and a gold lion rampant on a black field in the sinister half, whilst the third quarter (similarly divided) had diagonal blue and gold bands on the dexter side and a red lion rampant on a white field on the sinister. A gold lion on a black field represented the arms of Brabant, whilst a red lion on a white field constituted the arms of Limburg. Charles the Bold (1467–1477), the last male descendant of the Burgundian dynasty, inherited and used his father's coat of arms; his motto was "Je lay emprins".⁷⁷ One thing is certain from the above descriptions: emblems of this kind would have been hard to miss. As we will see later, Paul Beneke claimed that bad weather had prevented him from spotting the Burgundian arms, which is difficult to believe.

In Porto Pisano, the galleys bound for Bruges and then London were loaded once again⁷⁸ with alum. The fact that alum was being shipped to England

recorded in a letter of 30 May 1473 from the duke of Burgundy to the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges: *galeyde myt unsem wapenen und bannnyren*; ibidem, no. 29. See also *Acts*, p. 69: entry dated 1 May 1473.

76 Peter Niederhäuser, "Grundlagen", in: *Karl der Kühne*, pp. 22–23.

77 Ibidem, p. 24, see also Tafel 33–38, and pp. 274–75.

78 On earlier shipment of alum from Pisa by both galleys, see R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 161–63.

aboard the galley captured by Paul Beneke is attested in the list of losses drawn up in July 1473, which I will examine in greater detail further on.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, we know that the second of the galleys was also carrying alum en route to England thanks to an entry in the merchant Girolamo's journal.⁸⁰ This consignment was probably destined for the Company of Mercers – a company of cloth merchants based in London, which also had representatives in Bruges.⁸¹ A batch of silk (imported from the Levant) intended for clients in England and Flanders also seems to have been loaded onto the ship in Pisa, as it features on the aforementioned list of losses.⁸²

The journal kept by the merchant Girolamo Strozzi (who, let us recall, was aboard one of the galleys) recorded the route both vessels took from the moment they left Pisa on 26 September 1472. After several days at sea, on 30 September, at around 3 pm, the galleys reached Nice. On 1 October they set sail for the island of Hyères (on the Côte d'Azur), where they arrived on 8 October. By 15 October they were in Cadiz, departing on 3 November and stopping at La Coruña (north-west Spain)⁸³ from 8 November to 1 December. On 6 December they were at the port of Chamora (or possibly Camera), and on 7 December at the port of Rammeken(s) (c. 8 km east of Vilissingen), on the then island of Walcheren (now part of Zeeland). On 9 December they called at Remua, in other words Arnemuiden,⁸⁴ not far from Rammekens, and from there headed for Sluis on 14 December, making a stop there. On 16 December the galleys' patrons were in Bruges, and Girolamo Strozzi (as noted by Florence Edler de Roover) stayed at the Hotel Bladelin, headquarters of the Medici bank in Bruges. They remained in Bruges till 23 January, and it was during this period that their meeting with Tommaso Portinari probably took place.

Whilst in Bruges the alum and silk which the galleys had brought from Pisa for clients in Burgundy was probably unloaded (though most of the alum cargo remained in the ships' holds as it was destined for English clients). The list of losses drawn up in July 1473, several months after Paul Beneke's raid, detailing

79 HR, II/7, no. 41.

80 F. de Roover, *Le voyage de Girolamo*, pp. 123 and 124.

81 See Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People 1130–1578*, London 2005, index.

82 HR, II/7, no. 41.

83 According to Mallett (*The Florentine galleys*, p. 101) it was at this port that part of the alum was reloaded onto a Portuguese ship.

84 On the subject of this port and its significance, see Louis Siciking "Le paradoxe de l'accès: le rôle des avant-ports dans les anciens Pays-Bas à la fin du Moyen Âge et au début de l'époque moderne (approche comparative générale)", in: *Ports et littoraux de l'Europe atlantique. Transformations naturelles et aménagements humains (XIV^e–XVI^e siècles)*, eds. Michel Bochaca and Jean-Luc Sarrazin, Rennes 2007, pp. 244–45.

what goods had been aboard the galley he captured (and there is no reason to believe that a similar list was not made for the second galley), tells us that she had been carrying Burgundian merchandise destined for English as well as Italian clients (Florentine merchants and the pope). The list attests the Burgundian (or more broadly, Flemish) provenance of tapestries and carpets. The latter had been ordered by Pope Sixtus IV for his palace,⁸⁵ as had jewels, candlesticks and numerous other items (not enumerated).⁸⁶ The galley was also laden with chests full of valuables, china and jewels, some of which (though exactly what is not specified) were described as belonging to Tommaso Portinari.⁸⁷ The ship's hold also contained two paintings,⁸⁸ only one of which has been identified to date, namely Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* triptych, commissioned in Bruges by another of the Medici partners, Angelo Tani.⁸⁹ The

85 As stated in a papal bull of 24 August 1477; see also below.

86 These are first mentioned during the negotiations at Utrecht in July–September 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 35, n. 43). The fact that it was not only Tommaso Portinari but the entire syndicate that had incurred losses was also brought up at a trial in Utrecht: see HR, II/7, no. 138, paragraph 108, and also 109, wherein Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, expresses an interest in the galley.

87 HR, II/7, no. 41.

88 HR, II/7, no. 41; Białostocki, *Sąd Ostateczny Hansa Memlinga*, p. 7.

89 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage 1, pp. 92–102. In the footnotes Hirsch and Vossberg discuss the state of research on the *Last Judgement*, repeating the findings in the earlier literature (of the first half of the 19th century, and also drawing on later oral information) that this painting was attributed to Hans Memling. The most convincing arguments for this attribution, and for identifying the donors as Caterina de Tanagli and Angelo Tani, are put forward by Warburg (*Flandrische Kunst*, pp. 187–206); see also Warburg's lecture, "Flandrische und Florentinische Kunst im Kreise des Lorenzo Medici um 1480" (later published in: *Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft*, November 1901 Sitzungsbericht, VIII, 1901, pp. 43–46), wherein he outlined his key theses, on which he later elaborated in the cited article. On the subject of this painting see also Willi Drost, *Die Marienkirche in Danzig*, Stuttgart 1963, pp. 134–37. As noted by Nuttall, everyone accepted Warburg's conclusions about the donors apart from Teresa Grzybkowska ("The 'Last Judgment' by Hans Memling. Looted or commissioned for Gdansk?", *Polish Art Studies*, 12, 1991, pp. 15–25). On the subject of Memling and the painting's donors see Walicki, op. cit.; Lane, *The patron*, pp. 623–40; idem, *Hans Memling master painter in fifteenth-century Bruges*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 21–24, 129–35 (I would like to thank Dr Beata Purc of the Institute of Art History, University of Gdańsk, for drawing my attention to this article and making it available to me); Dirk de Vos, *Hans Memling, Das Gesamtwerk*, Stuttgart 1994 (I am grateful to Professor Andrzej Woźniński of the Institute of Art History, University of Gdańsk for making this work available to me); see also Nuttall, *Memling's Last*, and in particular idem, *From Flanders*, p. 159, wherein the author reiterates the findings she made in 1992 about Memling's *Last Judgement* having been commissioned by Angelo Tani not for a church in Florence, as previously thought, but for a chapel at the Badia Fiesolana, a monastery in the town of Fiesole, some 8 km from Florence. Notably, Nuttall highlighted that there had also been another painting

ship was also carrying some unidentified gold items that were being sent to England by Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy and wife of Charles the Bold; these may have been gifts from Margaret to her brother, King Edward IV of England (though this is merely conjecture). Since later sources consistently emphasised that the galley had been laden with English goods,⁹⁰ this must be taken to mean goods that had been bought to order for English merchants (using their money) from the Mercers' Company of London. The Company had its own representatives in Bruges at that time: William Sykle, William Brown, Raufe Baton and Richard Laken,⁹¹ who were probably responsible for purchasing the goods that were to be shipped from Bruges to England. It must also be remembered that the Medici bank had a branch in London, managed by the Florentine Gherardo Canigiani (Canysyan).⁹²

Thanks to the list of losses we also know that the overall value of the cargo aboard the galley seized by Paul Beneke amounted to around 30,000 pounds groschen (not including the value of the galley itself), the most valuable part of which was the aforementioned alum.⁹³

Part of the cargo carried on the captured galley belonged to Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici,⁹⁴ managers of the Florentine branch of the family bank,

aboard the galley (a fact earlier noted by R. de Roover: *The rise*), though she conceded that nothing was known of it. See also Borchert, *Memling – Leben und Werk*, p. 22.

⁹⁰ See *Acts*, p. 68 ff.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

⁹² Canigiani was born in Florence in 1424; he worked in London as a factor of the Medici, and lent large sums of money to Edward IV. In recognition of his services, he was made a citizen of London and was allowed to join the Mercers' Company. He was an intermediary in the alum trade and a member of the customs commission in Calais. He died in 1484; see Michael Mallett, *Canigiani Gherardo, Da Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, online version http://www.treccani.it/Portale/elements/categoriesItems.jsp?pathFile=/sites/default/BancaDati/Dizionario_Biografico_degli_Italiani/VOL18/DIZIONARIO_BIOGRAFICO_DEGLI_ITALIANI_vol18_009462.xml. (accessed 5 May 2010); cf. George Holmes, "Lorenzo de' Medici's London branch", in: *Progress and problems in medieval England. Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, eds. Richard Britnell and John Hatcher, London 1996, p. 274, and n. 6, wherein the author concludes that Canigiani's association with the Medici bank continued until 1473, as opposed to R. de Roover, who believed that it ended in 1472.

⁹³ HR, II/7, no. 41. For more about the sums involved see also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96, wherein Hirsch and Vossberg state that the losses came to 60,000 pounds groschen. Some of these goods were said to belong to Florentine merchants based in Bruges, Tommaso Portinari prime among them; cf. Reumont, *op. cit.*, p. 39: "valore di circa 160 000 zecchini o scudi d'oro".

⁹⁴ What we know about the owners of the cargo is based on later sources, written after Paul Beneke's raid. A key document is the papal bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV on 24 August 1477: HR, III/1, no. 92 (calendar), a copy of which is held in Gdańsk: former ref. no. 300

which (as mentioned earlier) also had offices in London and Bruges. The list of aggrieved parties also included Antonio a Martellie,⁹⁵ a reference to Antonio di Niccolo Martelli (b. 1404, d. after 1473), who for many years assisted the Florentine Lotto di Tanino Bozzi in running the Medici bank in Venice.⁹⁶ Antonio worked in partnership with his brother Ugolino, who was based in Pisa. Their youngest brother, Alessandro Martelli, also later joined the partnership.⁹⁷ Another person named as one of the owners of the seized merchandise was Franciscus Sopeni (Saxeti), in fact meaning Francesco di Tommaso Sassetti (1421–1490),⁹⁸ a long-time business partner of the Medici. Some of the merchandise aboard the galley belonged to another resident of Florence, Bernardo di Francesco Carnesecchi⁹⁹ and to the ship's patron, Franciscus Sermattei.¹⁰⁰ Losses were also suffered by another Florentine, Cristofano Spini,¹⁰¹ who was probably resident in Bruges at the time. Cristofano Spini (Christoffer de Spini) was soon to become an associate of Tommaso Portinari.¹⁰² The galley had also been carrying goods belonging to Johann (?) Dati, who came from Lucca and was living in Bruges.¹⁰³

U/41 A. no. 23, current ref. no. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/41 A, no. 28. A full list of owners can be found in Reumont, op. cit, p. 37, and in Warburg, *Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance*, Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen, 1902. I have also consulted the Polish translation of this work: Warburg, "Sztuka flandryjska a wczesny renesans we Florencji", in: idem, *Narodziny Wenus i inne szkice renesansowe*, (no place or date of publication), Słowo/obraz, terytoria, p. 347, n. 19. Remus (*Die Hanse*, p. 4) asserted that the individuals concerned had been aboard the galley. At the top of the list were Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici – also mentioned by R. de Roover, *The rise*, wherein earlier literature; see also Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore 2010, index.

95 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/41 A, no. 28.

96 R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 56, 82, 247–48.

97 Ibidem, pp. 250, 252, 277.

98 HR, III/1, no. 92 (calendar). The publishers deciphered this name as "Sopeni"; however a more detailed examination reveals that it actually reads "Saxtei". For more about this individual see Aby Warburg, *Testament Francesca Sasettiego*, in idem, *Narodziny Wenus*, pp. 161–88 and footnotes of chapter. R. de Roover, *The Rise*, p. 68 and index (responsibility for the fall of the Medici bank, pp. 370–71).

99 The publishers of the calendar deciphered this name as "Varnesechis"; however, it was Francesco Caereneschi who was a prominent figure in Florence at that time.

100 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/41 A, no. 28.

101 HR, III/1, no. 93: a letter written in Latin.

102 R. de Roover, *The Rise*, pp. 92, 94, 200, 346.

103 This is revealed in a letter of 10 July 1473 from the authorities of Lucca to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*: HR, II/7, no. 30 (calendar); see 300 D/21, no. 112 and a letter of 5 August 1473 from Dati to Lübeck, HR, II/7, nos. 33, 300 D/21, no. 113 (calendar). On the subject of Italians see Renée Rößner, *Hansische Memoria in Flandern – Alltagsleben und Totengedenken der Osterlinge in Brügge und Antwerpen (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, (Kieler Werkstücke.

3 The Raid

After 23 January both galleys left Bruges and returned to Arnemuiden, and from there set sail to London on 28 February; however, the voyage was cut short (probably because of bad weather and a defect of some sort on the smaller galley), and on 2 March the two vessels called at Rammekens¹⁰⁴ (a harbour located some 8 km from Vlissingen on Walcheren, then an island in the province of Zeeland). On 31 March they sailed on to “Flessinge”, in other words Vlissingen, where both patrons visited a branch of the otherwise unknown di Ghagluga bank,¹⁰⁵ after which the ships returned to Arnemuiden, before sailing back again to Rammekens.¹⁰⁶ They left that port on 25 April and headed towards the English

Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 15: Hansekaufleute in Brügge, Teil 5), Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 251.

104 *Journal di Girolamo*, pp. 135–36.

105 *Journal di Girolamo*. According to F. de Roover this was an unidentified Italian bank.

106 As recorded in *Journal di Girolamo* (pp. 135–36) which, having been written just after the events in question, must take precedence; cf. *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte Lübeck*, p. 117, stating that Paul Beneke sailed to the Zwin, where the galley laden with costly goods was stationed at Sluis; however, in *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 13) we read: “von Welingen und solde zu Londen wesen”. Some historians have concluded that the galleys set sail from the port of Sluis, among them Hirsch and Vossberg: see *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96 (and this despite having access to the actual text of the chronicle). On the appearance of the galleys in Sluis see Remus, *Die Hanse*, p. 4, albeit on p. 5 he states that the attack itself happened after the galleys had entered the sea from the Zwin. Goswin von der Ropp (op. cit., p. 130) thought differently, believing that the galleys had set sail from Bruges heading for England, a view shared by Simson (op. cit., pp. 291–92). According to Fiedler (op. cit., p. 97) the large galley had put to sea from Sluis accompanied by a ferry. Meanwhile Quinn and Ruddock, the editors who wrote the introduction to *The Port Book* (pp. XXXIII–XXXIV), stated that the Hanseatic attack on these ships had taken place off the coast of Zeeland. It is worth adding that the term Zeeland is not always accurately used in the literature (the area in question was, of course, the province of Zeeland, which was made up of several islands at the time). Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 33) believed that the galleys had left from the Wielingen channel (after *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 13), steering a course towards the Thames estuary, with the caravel *Peter von Danzig* following on behind them, unaccompanied (Michael Ertmann’s small caravel having been detained by the English: cf. Chapter 2), right up to the coast of England. The Wielingen was a waterway on the Flemish coast, near the then island of Walcheren; it may have been that Lienau actually meant the town of Vlissingen. See also F. de Roover, *A Prize of War*, p. 8, wherein the author states only that the attack happened off the English coast, as does R. de Roover (*Money*, pp. 22–23). The publication of Girolamo’s diary allowed F. de Roover (*Le voyage de Girolamo*, p. 125) to determine that the galleys had set sail from Rammekens. Walter Stark (*Lübeck und Danzig in der Zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis der wendischen und preußischen Hansestädte in der Zeit der Niedergangs der Hanse*, Weimer 1973, p. 101) was unaware of the work of the de Roovers when he wrote that Paul Beneke had headed for the Zwin, attacking and seizing the galley en route to

coast,¹⁰⁷ intending to reach the Thames and London.¹⁰⁸ *St Andrew/St Matthew* was commanded by her patron (captain) Francesco di Sermattei,¹⁰⁹ whilst the navigator was an Englishman named Roger Truman.¹¹⁰

A little earlier, on 10 April 1473, Paul Beneke had sailed out of Hamburg in command of the caravel.¹¹¹ He was accompanied by four vessels from Hamburg and, according to Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, they were bound for "St James",¹¹² which historians have taken to mean that they were heading for the Spanish coast.¹¹³ No one, however, has been able to explain why they would have been sailing to that particular region. As mentioned earlier, the galleys had followed the same route to England on several occasions, and thus Paul Beneke was no doubt already familiar with them. From what he had seen of them, he must also have been well aware of how valuable their cargoes were.¹¹⁴ He may, therefore, have intended to waylay both ships on their return journey from England (laden with cloth), when they would have been sailing towards the Spanish coast. However, what the Gdańsk privateer did not foresee when setting out from Hamburg was that the galleys would not yet have reached England because they had remained at ports (harbours) in Zeeland practically until the spring. Given this course of events, his later explanations that he had not noticed the coat of arms and flag of Burgundy (see following section on repercussions) seem entirely implausible. Any idea that it was not until early 1473 that Paul Beneke discovered what was being shipped aboard these

England. Walicki (op. cit., p. 7) claimed that the galleon(!) *St Matthew* had set off with a smaller warship (a brigantine!) from the port of Sluis, and headed towards the English coast.

107 F. de Roover, *Le voyage de Girolamo*, p. 125; *Journal di Girolamo*, pp. 135–36.

108 As stated in *Acts*, and *Caspar Weinreich*, this information subsequently being cited by Remus (op. cit., pp. 4–5), though some historians maintained that Southampton had been the original destination.

109 According to Hirsch and Vossberg; see *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96, n. 3.

110 Revealed in a letter of 29 January 1474 written by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy (HR, II/7, no. 164).

111 In a letter of 5 March 1474 from the deputies (aldermen) of the Four Members of Flanders to Gdańsk (HR, II/7, no. 171) this ship was referred to as "carvelle ghenaeent de Lyborne".

112 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 12. See also Fiedler, op. cit., p. 96, wherein mention is made of four ships having set sail.

113 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 12; cf. Beilage 1, p. 96, and likewise Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 32), who claimed that on 10 or 13 April (he based his assertions on Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, so the reason for his uncertainty about the date is not clear) four warships, including the caravel *Peter von Danzig* and one other ship from Gdańsk (no further details given), set sail (from Hamburg?) to Spain.

114 Stark op. cit., p. 20. This author also believed that Paul Beneke knew about the English merchandise (p. 200).

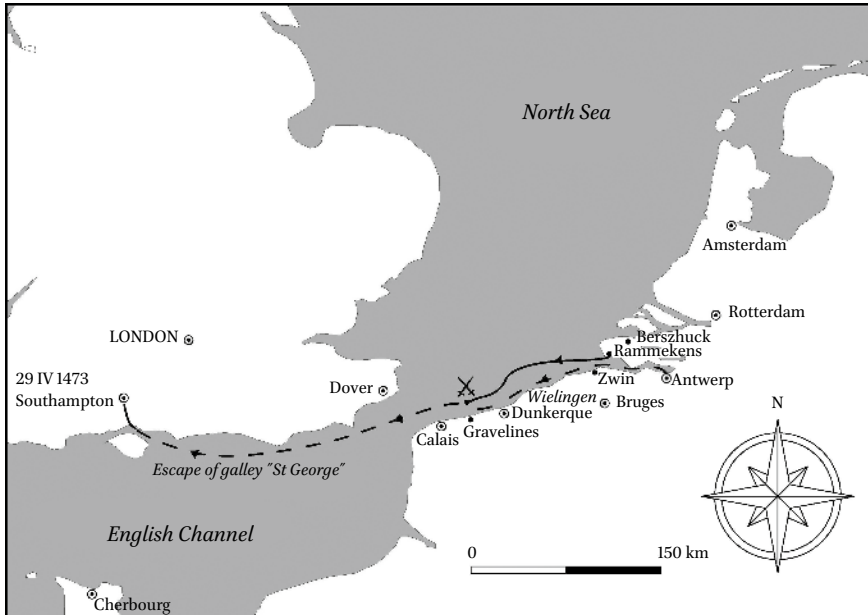
galleys, either during the course of a stopover in Hamburg or from the crews of ships encountered along the way, does not stand up to scrutiny.¹¹⁵ There is no question that Paul Beneke's actions were fuelled by his desire to acquire spoils, even though he was fully aware of the potential consequences and litigation that might follow. In trying to mitigate his actions, he later cited two reasons: firstly, the fact that the ships had been sailing to England, and secondly that they had been carrying English merchandise. From the perspective of Hanseatic interests, this was supposed to be reason enough for launching an attack. For clarity's sake it should be noted that, apart from the account recorded in Caspar Weinreich's chronicle, there is no other indication that the four Hamburg vessels accompanying Beneke had any joint agenda with him.

Two days into their journey towards the English coast, on 27 April ("dinstag noch pasca") the galleys crossed paths with the caravel. According to a statement made by Paul Beneke in response to a letter received from Gdańsk three months earlier,¹¹⁶ the conditions at the time had been stormy, though this may have been an argument he used to try and explain why he had failed to spot the colours flown by the two galleys. The raid launched from the great caravel on 27 April 1473 took place in several stages. The first stage involved pursuing the two galleys which had set sail from Rammekens heading towards a stretch of coastline referred to as Wielingen and further west along the Flemish coast. During the next stage the galley *St George* managed to effect an escape, setting a course for Southampton (arriving on 29 April and remaining there until 27 July, before returning to Pisa).¹¹⁷ Paul Beneke gave chase to the galley *St*

115 Remus (op. cit., p. 4) contended that after having hired a crew, Paul Beneke lay in wait in Zeeland for ships plying routes between the Burgundian and English coasts. A suitable opportunity arose when the galley turned up at the port of Sluis.

116 The content of this letter can be deduced from Paul Beneke's reply: HR, II/7, no. 31.

117 On the voyage to Southampton see *Acts*, p. 69; on the escape to this port see also Hirsch and Vossberg, *Beilage*, I, p. 96; on Pisa see F. de Roover, *La Voyage de Girolamo*, p. 122 ff., pp. 135–36; and subsequently Holmes, op. cit., pp. 278–79, asserting that after a three-month stay in Southampton the galley *St George* sailed to London, where she was loaded with cloth, and pewter and brass candlesticks before returning to Pisa. See also Reumont (op. cit., p. 38), who claims that the second galley escaped to Sluis, based on Bernhard Erdmannsdörffer, *De commercio quod inter Venetos et Germaniae civitates aevo medio intercessit*. Habilitationsschrift an der Universität Jena, 1858; however, the well-known German-language version of this work ("Über die Depeschen der venezianischen Gesandten, mit besonderem Bezug auf Deutschland", in: *Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, 1857, pp. 38–85) makes no mention of Paul Beneke's raid. Mallett (*The Florentine Galleys*, pp. 101–02) asserts that the galley which got away left the port of Southampton on 27 July to embark on a voyage in the Mediterranean, but turned back (most probably to London) and her entire cargo was seized by the English. He cites the Florentine chronicler Benedetto Dei, according



MAP 4 The attack carried out by Paul Beneke on the Burgundian galleys
AUTHOR: PIOTR SAMÓŁ

Andrew/St Matthew, forcing her to seek refuge off the Flemish coast, near the port of Gravelines (some 25 km west of Dunkirk),¹¹⁸ where the decisive phase of the action was played out.¹¹⁹ (Map 4) The galley's commander realised that the rapidly shrinking distance between the two vessels meant that an escape was impossible; in the face of this hopeless situation he decided to engage in combat. Artillery was used and the galley was most probably boarded from the caravel.¹²⁰ Crewmen "and other individuals" were killed aboard the galley: eight according to a letter of 30 May 1473 from Charles the Bold,¹²¹ and

to whom the galley *St George* was captured by the French Vice-Admiral Coulon in 1473. However, Mallett observes that this information was based on a false rumour, as in reality this had happened to a different, Neapolitan, galley. *St George's* time in service came to an end following a storm in 1474.

118 *Ports et littoraux de l'Europe atlantique. Transformations naturelles et aménagements humains (XIV^e-XVII^e siècles)*, eds. Michel Bochaca and Jean-Luc Sarrazin, Rennes 2007, p. 192.

119 *Journal de Girolamo*, pp. 135-36; F. de Roover, *La Voyage de Girolamo*, p. 122 ff. Unaware of the narrative of the *Journal*, Lienau (op. cit., pp. 33-34) came to the entirely erroneous conclusion that the skirmish had taken place on the other side of the English Channel, at the mouth of the Thames.

120 *Acts*, p. 69; HR, III/4, no. 150, par. 105.

121 HR, II/7, no. 29.

13 according to a papal bull of 24 August 1477 issued by Sixtus IV.¹²² “Many others” were wounded according to Charles the Bold, and in fact as many as 100 according to the papal bull. It may well have been that eight people died during the course of the raid (though there is no way of verifying this) and that the additional fatalities referred to in the papal bull died later from the injuries they had sustained in the fight. Meanwhile, reporting the number of wounded as 100 doubtless reflects the then prevalent custom of expressing losses in round figures, though they must indeed have been considerable. The sources are silent about the death toll among Paul Beneke’s crew, not because everyone survived but because it was always the losing side that listed its losses; nobody asked the assailants about this subject, and they themselves had no reason to speak of it. Complaints lodged during the Anglo-Hanseatic negotiations in Utrecht (July–September 1473) tell us that the crew members from the galley who were captured by Beneke’s men were very badly treated by them.¹²³ It is just possible that in the final phase of combat captain Francesco Sermattei escaped from the galley in the ship’s boat, though it is more likely that Beneke

¹²² HR, III/1, no. 92 (see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/41 A, no. 28); see also Hirsch and Vossberg, *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96 (though the source of this information is not cited therein); Reumont, op. cit., p. 40. The course of the action is also related by Remus (*Hanse*, p. 4 ff.), who mentions the use of bombards, making reference to later sources such as HR, III/4, no. 150, paragraph 105. Simson (op. cit., pp. 292–93) also concluded that there had been 13 fatalities. It has to be said that later sources embellished the whole incident and some of these added flourishes are regarded to this day as real events. This is particularly true of the speech that Paul Beneke was supposed to have made to the crew of the caravel before the raid began. The chronicler Reimar Kock (1549) referred to this speech, and it was quoted in 20th-century studies that helped shape the myth of Paul Beneke. Lienau even included it in the appendix of sources to his article *Der Peter* (p. 34), in which he speculated that the crew’s initially faltering courage had been successfully bolstered by Paul Beneke’s speech. The Polish translation of this speech (with no mention of the fact that it is fictitious) can currently be found on Internet forums (e.g. on the *Akademia Rzygaczy* web portal for amateur historians of Gdańsk). Making no reference to the sources (though most likely drawing on accounts in chronicles), Lienau vividly described how the caravel had opened fire on the galley, raining down cannon shots, crossbow bolts and pikes, and simultaneously peppering the enemy with heavy stones hurled from the crow’s nest (*Der Peter*, pp. 33–34). The illustrations which accompany his article demonstrate that Lienau was acquainted with the medieval illuminations in the French chronicle of the Hundred Years’ War, which show these types of boarding actions, and perhaps these were what inspired his hypotheses about how Beneke must have effected his attack. Lienau believed that further combat was facilitated by snaring the galley with boarding hooks so that she could be hauled in and boarded. As a result of this skirmish 13 men aboard the galley died and 100 were taken captive. HR, II/7, no. 28 (see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 11), cf. also *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96.

¹²³ HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 32.

simply set him free. Whatever the case may have been, by early May Sermattei was staying on one of the islands of Zeeland.¹²⁴

Although there is no first-hand account of what Paul Beneke did after the raid, the further course of events indicates that he spent around four days (from 27 April to 1 or 2 May) near the site of the attack, not far from the port of Gravelines. He no doubt had to dispose of the galley's Burgundian markings and reload (all or part of) the goods from the galley on to the caravel. Given that he intended to make his retreat together with the prize galley, he carried out makeshift repairs to her, while very likely also having to mend the caravel.

As stated earlier, on 29 April the galley *St George* made it to Southampton. Thanks to local merchants, on the night of 30 April news of the capture of *St Andrew/Matthew* reached the Mercers' Company of London, whose members would have been potential buyers for at least some of the goods aboard the galley.¹²⁵ Despite the late hour, because of the gravity of the situation Company representatives, aldermen Richard Gardener, Thomas Ilom and Richard Rawson,¹²⁶ summoned other members of the Company, namely John Alderton and Hugh Clopton, and together went to see Gherardo Canigani, a factor of the Medici bank's London branch. They informed him about the incident, assuring him that they would do everything in their power to assist Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in his efforts to recover the lost goods and avowing their friendship for Tommaso Portinari. These declarations were included in a letter which Gherardo Canigani addressed to Tommaso Portinari, in both his own and the mercers' names.¹²⁷ He gave them the letter, and on that same night (possibly at dawn) they dispatched the factor's servant Victorio (Vyketor) to Bruges, paying him 20 *skojecs* cash in hand.¹²⁸ On 1 May 1473, Company aldermen Richard Gardener, Thomas Ilom and Richard Rawson also sent a letter to English merchants based in Bruges: William Sykle, William Brown, Raufe Baton and Richard Laken, telling them about the Hanseatic raid and the subsequent measures they had taken.¹²⁹ Perhaps it was the latter trio who had

¹²⁴ *Acts*, pp. 69–75.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

¹²⁶ For more on these individuals see Barron, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350: Richard Gardener, merchant, lord mayor of London and sheriff; Thomas Ilom, merchant and sheriff; Richard Rawson, merchant and sheriff; William Browne, merchant, mayor and sheriff; cf. Sutton, *The Mercery of London*, index.

¹²⁷ *Acts*, p. 68.

¹²⁸ This transpires from a letter of 1 May 1473 written in London to the merchants of Southampton (*Acts*, pp. 68–69). On this subject see also Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 278, and p. 281, claiming that the Medici blamed Canigiani for the loss of the galley.

¹²⁹ *Acts*, p. 69. The approach made by English merchants to the factor of the Medici in Bruges is also reported in the introduction to *The Port Books*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

been involved in loading the galleys with goods destined for clients in London, though it is also feasible that the Company's aldermen simply wanted to use them to seek support in Bruges.

Meanwhile Tommaso Portinari sent news of events concerning the galleys to Charles the Bold¹³⁰ (who was probably in Maastricht at the time). The duke dispatched his secretary Joris¹³¹ to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, telling him to find out what steps the aldermen intended to take in order to recover the ship and her cargo.¹³² At around the same time¹³³ Charles the Bold sent an ordinance bearing his seal to Paul Beneke,¹³⁴ demanding that he return the appropriated goods.¹³⁵ Little wonder then that the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* summoned Beneke (by letter) to give his explanation of the whole affair and told him to return the ship to its owner.¹³⁶ Paul Beneke's only response was to inform them that he was planning to call at a Hanseatic port.¹³⁷ All of this happened at breakneck speed, within three or four days, giving some idea of the shock waves sent out by Beneke's raid. Without waiting for further events to unfold, on 1 May (or on the morning of 2 May at the latest) Beneke set sail for Hamburg (where most of the mercenaries serving aboard the caravel came from). He did so with no small dose of bravado: by 3 May 1473 he had already completed another successful raid off the coast of Flanders, this time attacking a Dutch ship owned by Jan von der Wateringe, a burgher from Haarlem. The

130 As indicated by *Acts*, p. 72 (report from the aldermen of the Mercers' Company) and the later course of events.

131 This may have been George Baert, mentioned in letters of 20 June 1492 (HR, III/3, no. 173) and 5 August 1496 (HR, III/3, no. 676) from Philip, duke of Austria (and ruler of Burgundy), enumerating the steps that Charles the Bold had taken concerning the case of the galley.

132 This fact is only revealed in a letter of 30 May 1473 from Charles, duke of Burgundy to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* (HR, II/7, no. 29).

133 Also revealed in a letter of 30 May 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 29); cf. Remus, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

134 We know that Hendrik van Borselen, admiral of the fleet of Holland and Zeeland, working in the service of the duke of Burgundy, drafted sailing orders and marching orders which were incorporated into Charles the Bold's ordinances for his army and issued in the spring of 1470: see Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 227, text, pp. 228–29.

135 This is apparent from a letter of 30 May 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 29), which evidently concerns earlier events. The ordinance may have been sent via Adrian Walkin (Falck). The fact that it was sent to Paul Beneke is also revealed in a letter of 20 June 1492 from Maximilian Hapsburg (HR, III/3, no. 173); Charles the Bold sending a copy to the Hanse is mentioned in a letter of 5 August 1496 from Philip, duke of Austria and Burgundy (HR, III/3, no. 676).

136 We do not know the precise date of the letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Paul Beneke. They referred to it when writing to the city council of Gdańsk on 8 May 1473, stating that they would be writing again to the Gdańsk privateer: HR, II/7, no. 28 (see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 111).

137 As revealed in a letter of 8 May 1473 from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Gdańsk (HR, II/7, no. 28).

vessel had sailed out of Zeeland carrying goods belonging to the shipowner and other merchants from Burgundian territories, including Zieriksee (a province of Zeeland),¹³⁸ which was the hometown of the ship's skipper, Huge Alyaenszon von Zieriksee.¹³⁹ Paul Beneke's haul included 18 terlings of cloth and a range of other merchandise stowed aboard ship.¹⁴⁰ The shipowner estimated his losses at 76 pounds and 9 Flemish shillings groat (which with additional costs came to 87 pounds, 16 shillings and 5 Flemish pfennigs groat).¹⁴¹ The loot was loaded on to the caravel, and the ship and her crew were set free, doubtless only because Beneke did not have enough mariners to man another prize. The caravel and galley reached Hamburg before 30 May 1473.¹⁴² Meanwhile, the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, who knew only that Beneke intended to make for one of the Hanseatic ports, suspected that he would opt for Gdańsk. On 8 May 1473 they sent a letter to the city council stating that they hoped Gdańsk's authorities were already aware of Paul Beneke's raid, and warning them not to sanction the division of goods belonging to Charles the Bold should the privateer call at Gdańsk.¹⁴³ All things considered, given the pace of communications and the distances involved, it seems unlikely that news of the raid had already reached Gdańsk by 8 May. Indeed, the letter from the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges, which probably arrived at the earliest some 14 days later, may well have been the first report received of this incident.

138 HU, 10, no. 239: a letter of 10 September 1473 from Berndt Pawest and Rudolf Feldstete to Gdańsk (in which mention is made that the ship was carrying English goods, hence it was probably sailing from England); HU, 10, no. 242, calendar of a letter of 27 September 1473 from the city of Haarlem to Gdańsk. A complaint made in Utrecht suggests that the ship was also carrying merchandise from Zieriksee (HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraphs 108 and 111).

139 HU, 10, no. 242 gives the date of this incident and a rough idea of where it happened (between Zealand, England and Flanders) as well as information about the appropriated goods; a similar letter was sent by the governor general and council of Holland to Gdańsk on 16 May 1474 (no. 309). See also HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 108.

140 This can be gleaned from letters of: 26 September 1473 (HU, 10, no. 242) and 16 May 1474 (HU, 10, no. 309).

141 HU, 10, p. 195 n. 1; cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 155.

142 This date is suggested by the fact that one of Duke Charles's secretaries had been sent to Hamburg prior to 30 May, hence he probably went there thinking that he would find Beneke already in Hamburg (see below).

143 HR, II/7, no. 28 (see AP Gdańsk 300 D/21, no. 111). Based on this letter, Hirsch and Vossberg (*Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 97) hypothesised that Paul Beneke had actually planned to sail to Gdańsk, but his crew refused to do so, fearing that the city council would confiscate their booty. In consequence, the privateer decided to sail to the Elbe and call at Hamburg. There is, however, no documentary evidence to suggest that the crew might have taken such a stance. The fact that most of the mercenaries aboard the caravel came from Hamburg lends greater credence to the idea that this had been the intended destination from the beginning.

4 Initial Repercussions

On 1 May London merchant William Lok,¹⁴⁴ who happened to be in Southampton at the time, sent a letter to John and William Alborough in London, describing the fate of both galleys and mentioning that the captain of *St George* was unwell.¹⁴⁵ Before reaching its intended recipients (whose connections with one another require further research), on 2 May the letter came into the hands of the aldermen of the Mercers' Company in London. That same day the mercers sent a written request to three merchants in Southampton: John Elys, William Lok and John Eton, asking for news of the patron of the captured galley *St Andrew/St Matthew*. They wondered whether he had already taken measures to try and recover the seized goods and if he was planning to come to London.¹⁴⁶ Later events suggest that Francesco Sermattei decided to track down Paul Beneke, as Sermattei's presence was noted in Hamburg shortly afterwards.¹⁴⁷ The aforementioned aldermen convened a meeting of the Mercers' Company Court at 6 a.m. on 3 May.¹⁴⁸ The court concluded that the goods from the surviving galley *St George* should be brought to London, and to this end John Raynold and Steven Frejman would be sent to Southampton. Because the London mercers had an insurance guarantee of 200 marks from King Edward IV, they contemplated demanding this money from parliament.¹⁴⁹ Discussions about what to do continued for the next few days, and Gherardo Canigiani was asked for his advice. Ultimately it was decided to entreat Edward IV to write a letter to Charles the Bold in which the king would express his support for the duke's efforts to recover the galley captured by Paul Beneke.¹⁵⁰ The mercers received a letter to this effect, written in French, around 15 May 1473.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Barron, *op. cit.*, p. 354: a merchant and sheriff.

¹⁴⁵ *Acts*, p. 69, letter from London to merchants in Southampton.

¹⁴⁶ *Acts*, p. 69 in. For an overview of these measures, with references to the Acts of the Mercers' Company, see Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 310 and n. 225.

¹⁴⁷ Further details below.

¹⁴⁸ *Acts*, p. 70, in a letter of 2 May 1473.

¹⁴⁹ *Acts*, pp. 70–71, letter of 3 May 1473 to merchants in Southampton. According to R. de Roover (*The rise*, p. 348), the Italians were also insured, a claim he validates with a reference to a work not available to me (F. de Roover, "Early Examples of Insurance", *The Journal of Economic History*, 5, pp. 191–94). In another article by Florence de Roover (*A Prize of War*, p. 6), based on entries in the account books of Bernardo di Giovanni Cambi, she established that both of the galleys had been insured with him for 150 or 200 florins (150 florins in April 1473). In July 1473 Bernardo paid out compensation of 90 florins for one of the galleys.

¹⁵⁰ *Acts*, p. 72.

¹⁵¹ *Acts*, pp. 73–75, mentioned in a note dated 17 May 1473.

They also planned to petition the Hanse for the return of the galley and her cargo under threat of sanctions.¹⁵² We do not know what further measures the Company's aldermen took, though they no doubt had high hopes of the negotiations in Utrecht, which were to bring an end to the Anglo-Hanseatic war (see also Chapter 2), all the more so given that representatives of the duchy of Burgundy were expected to attend these talks.

Around 30 May Charles the Bold sent his secretary Lambert van der Ee¹⁵³ on a diplomatic mission, firstly to Hamburg and then to Lübeck.¹⁵⁴ Lambert, however, had still not set off by 9 June 1473, as on that day he obtained authorisation in Utrecht from Charles the Bold to conduct peace negotiations on his behalf.¹⁵⁵ Given that the journey from Utrecht to Hamburg took around 14 days, if Lambert de Ee had set off on 9 June he would have reached Hamburg around 23 of that month at the earliest.

On 30 May 1473, whilst staying in Maastricht, Charles the Bold, made another approach (this time in writing) to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* demanding compensation for the losses caused by Paul Beneke, "Oosterlingen, kapitana ... van der Duutschen hanze van Almanyen". If the spoils he had appropriated were not returned, this would result in sanctions (a letter of reprisal), meaning that goods carried by Gdańsk vessels would be confiscated.¹⁵⁶ On 12 June 1473 a letter warning of these punitive measures was sent to Gdańsk by

¹⁵² *Acts*, pp. 75–76, a mandate of King Edward IV.

¹⁵³ Lambert van der Ee (the brother of Adrian van der Ee, d. 1464, who worked in the service of Philip the Good for many years) was the secretary of the chancery of Brabant from 1449 to 1477: see Mario Damen, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)*, Hilversum 2000, pp. 302, 456; Petra Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich Spätmittelalterliche Außenpolitik Am Beispiel der Regierung Karl des Kühnen (1465–1477)*, München 2002, p. 250, wherein mention is also made of the secretary's participation in the peace talks in Utrecht, and of his investigations (on behalf of Tommaso Portinari) into the privateering actions of the great caravel – reference to footnote 190, HR, II/7, no. 34, p. 10.

¹⁵⁴ HR, II/7, no. 28 records that he was sent to Hamburg with letters from the duke, while his visits to both Hamburg and Lübeck are attested by the proceedings of the assembly in Utrecht (HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 35).

¹⁵⁵ HR, II/7, no. 24. Also mentioned as conducting negotiations were: Louis (earl of Winchester) lord of Gruuthuse, and governor general of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland (for more on the earl see Damen, op. cit., p. 464), Wilhelm (Guillaume) of Cluny (de Clugny), papal pronotary (see Ehm, op. cit., index), Gert von Assendelft, member of the council of Holland (see Ehm, op. cit., p. 221 and index), master Johan van Halewin, doctor of both laws, and Johann (Jehan) Gross, secretary (Ehm, op. cit., pp. 103–05).

¹⁵⁶ HR, II/7, no. 29. The aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges later wrote to Lübeck, Hamburg and Gdańsk, fearing that this letter of reprisal would be acted on: see HR, II/7, no. 134 (early 1474).

Hendrick (Heinrick) van Broselen, lord of Veere.¹⁵⁷ At around the same time Charles the Bold also made a complaint via Flanders (or possibly Bruges) to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of Poland about Paul Beneke's actions.¹⁵⁸

Reports of Beneke's raid were also making waves in France, specifically in La Rochelle, the caravel's home port. It was most probably news of the Gdańsk privateer's attack that prompted the ship's first captain, Frenchman Aymar (Marco) Boeff, who now went by the title of "cappitanus de la Rochelle", to write to the city council of Gdańsk on 12 June 1473.¹⁵⁹ In his letter he once again described the circumstances in which the caravel had been damaged and subsequently taken over by Gdańsk, and wrote of the delegation that had been sent by King Louis XI, of the steps taken to try and recover the ship, and finally of the demand for 10,000 crowns in compensation. Notably, Aymar Boeff appears to have been unaware of the mission that had been carried out in 1472 by Berndt Pawest, as he claimed that it was Paul Beneke who had taken the caravel out to sea to do battle against the English.¹⁶⁰ It seems that Gdańsk offered no response to this letter, leaving any potential explanations to be made during peace talks with Louis XI (more of which later).

Although we can deduce that Paul Beneke reached Hamburg by 30 May 1473 (as outlined above), his stay there is not corroborated by the sources until the latter half of June.¹⁶¹ Francesco Sermattei, the patron of the captured galley, followed Beneke to Hamburg,¹⁶² as did *Peter von Danzig's* owners, Tiedemann

157 AP Gdańsk, no. 300 D/19, no. 152 a.

158 We do not know exactly when this complaint was lodged; the subject was not brought up until March 1474 during the next phase of negotiations in Utrecht. Given that this complaint was mentioned in the context of the letter of reprisal issued by Charles the Bold in May (1473), we can infer that it was made shortly afterwards: see HR, II/7, no. 138, paragraph 130.

159 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 17a. Although the year is not stated, the fact that mention is made of Paul Beneke having been in command of the caravel during this raid indicates that it was written in 1473.

160 Ibidem.

161 Caspar Weinreich, Beilage 1, p. 97 (the source of this information is not cited). Paul Beneke's stay in Hamburg is corroborated by a letter of 22 June 1473 from Berndt Pawest to Gdańsk (HR, II/7, no. 52), two letters from Lübeck to Gdańsk (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, nos. 231 and 234), and by an entry in the Hamburg treasury account books, recording expenses in 1473, wherein we read: "ad respiciendum certas naves, videlicet galeidam et kravelam de Danczke, communicando cum nautis et naucleris eaundem" (*Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, Bd. 3, p. 102).

162 The presence in Hamburg of the galley's patron (name not stated) is mentioned in letters from Lübeck to Gdańsk (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, nos. 231 and 234), and entries in the account books of Hamburg's treasury record that the cost of his stay was settled with Albert Schilling (*Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, Bd. 3, pp. 116 and 117).

Valandt, Johann Sidinghusen and Heinrich Niederhof. Both sides held talks,¹⁶³ but nothing came of them. Sermattei also entered into negotiations with the city council of Hamburg and with representatives of Lübeck,¹⁶⁴ the latter probably having been Hinrik Kasdrop and Johann Lunebroch, envoys sent by Lübeck to attend the peace talks in Utrecht. It may have been this meeting that led Hamburg's municipal authorities to issue a notarial instrument affirming that none of their citizens had taken anything from the ship seized by Paul Beneke.¹⁶⁵ By 22 June Berndt Pawest, Rudolf Feldstete and Johann Lindow¹⁶⁶ had arrived in Hamburg together with Jacob Vos¹⁶⁷ as delegates sent by Gdańsk to attend the negotiations in Utrecht. On 22 June 1473 they met with the deputies from Lübeck.¹⁶⁸ They conferred about how to deal with the case of the galley and her cargo, but the fact that there was no one from Hamburg at this meeting clearly indicates that the city was keen to distance itself from the whole affair. Despite certain obstacles, an agreement was reached on the division of spoils, largely thanks to the approach taken by Berndt Pawest. Despite knowing that the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* were eager to maintain good relations with the duke of Burgundy, Pawest managed to convince the Lübeck delegation that the spoils should belong to the Hanse, and in particular to the crew of the caravel, who were demanding their share of the prize. Because Hamburg's authorities wanted nothing to do with the whole affair,¹⁶⁹ and Lübeck had refused to allow the caravel entry to its port (i.e. Travemünde),¹⁷⁰ it was agreed that she should be moved to the port of Stade (near Hamburg), which belonged to the Archbishopric of Bremen.¹⁷¹ As for the galley, given that selling her to a Hanseatic buyer was unlikely to have been a viable option, it was decided to take her to

¹⁶³ The fact that the three owners of the caravel were in Hamburg in the summer of 1473 is borne out by letters from the city council of Lübeck to Gdańsk, dated 4 August 1473 (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 231, in which Tiedemann Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof are mentioned) and 27 August 1473 (ibidem, 300 D/29 no. 234, mentioning Johann Sidinghusen).

¹⁶⁴ HR, II/7, no. 70.

¹⁶⁵ This notarial instrument is mentioned in an entry in the Hamburg treasury account books (*Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg*, 3, p. 116).

¹⁶⁶ On 12 June 1473 the city council of Gdańsk issued a document authorising Berndt Pawest, Rudolf Feldstete and Johann Lindow to conclude a peace with King Louis XI of France (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 16); the departure to Utrecht of Rudolf Feldstete and Berndt Pawest is recorded in *Caspar Weinreich* (p. 13).

¹⁶⁷ HR, II/7, no. 55.

¹⁶⁸ HR, II/7, no. 52. Lübeck later wrote to Gdańsk about this meeting: AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 231 (4 August 1473) and no. 234 (27 August 1473).

¹⁶⁹ As evidence by the aforementioned notarial instrument.

¹⁷⁰ This is apparent from the later speech made by Berndt Pawest: see HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 33.

¹⁷¹ HR, II/7, no. 52.

the port of Lübeck, break her up and sell her structural parts after they had been shared out between Gdańsk and Lübeck.¹⁷² This plan was swiftly implemented, as the sources are silent about what happened to the galley after this point, and complaints from the injured parties no longer mention her return but only payment of compensation for her. It was expected that the sale of her parts would raise a total of 4385 marks, which would make up part of the prize money.¹⁷³ There are no further details about whether this prize money would have been allocated to the crew alone, or if the caravel's owners (Tiedemann Valandt, Johann Sidinghusen and Heinrich Niederhof) would also have been entitled to a share; however, assuming that only the crew were eligible and that the money would have been divided equally among them, each man would have received around 12½ marks if we go by earlier sources which state that the caravel had a crew of around 350, or around 11 marks, if we believe that the crew numbered 400, as related in Caspar Weinreich's chronicle.¹⁷⁴

On the following day, 23 June, the representatives of Gdańsk and Lübeck visited the galley and the caravel and informed Paul Beneke and his crew of these plans.¹⁷⁵ This visit occasioned a meeting between Berndt Pawest, Rudolf Feldstete and Paul Beneke,¹⁷⁶ during which the two Gdańsk envoys no doubt got to hear Beneke's version of the events surrounding the capture of the galley. This is suggested by the arguments which Pawest later used in Utrecht when defending Beneke's privateering exploits.¹⁷⁷ Assuming that Beneke knew full

¹⁷² HR, II/7, no. 52; cf. *Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482 der niedersächsischen Stadt Lübeck*, Dritte Fortsetzung der Detmar-Chronik zweiter Teil: 1466–1488), facsimile of 1911 edition (1968), p. 118, wherein the relevant excerpt from the letter is quoted. Although there is nothing about plans to dismantle the galley in Lübeck, this comes to light when Berndt Pawest speaks at the meeting in Utrecht in March 1474, saying that the galley was not brought to Gdańsk but to Lübeck (HR, II/7, no. 138, paragraph 140). Having overlooked this piece of information, some historians have claimed that the galley was taken to Gdańsk: see F. de Roover, *A Prize of War*, pp. 3–4. Thus, it can be assumed that the galley was taken from Hamburg southwards along the Elbe to the port of Lauenburg, and from there she reached Lübeck via the Stecknitz–Delvenau canal, built in the late 14th century (the Delvenau is a tributary of the Elbe, and the Stecknitz is a tributary of the Trave).

¹⁷³ HR, II/7, no. 52, z 22 June 1473.

¹⁷⁴ *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik* (p. 13) mentions 21 marks of prize money for each member of the crew, which would, however, amount to 8400 marks for a crew of 400. The sum cited by Weinreich would be correct for a crew of around 200.

¹⁷⁵ They also intended to tell the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges about how they planned to divide the spoils (HR, II/7, no. 52).

¹⁷⁶ Paul Beneke mentioned this meeting, which took place before the envoys left for Utrecht, though without giving any details about what was discussed, in a letter to Hamburg dated 12 July 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 31).

¹⁷⁷ For more on this subject, see below.

well what ship he was attacking (and who it belonged to), his defence (probably not premeditated) may have followed one of two lines of reasoning. He may have claimed that because the ships had been carrying goods for English clients (e.g. the aforementioned alum) this would have been reason enough for a Hanseatic attack, or he might have contended that he had not noticed that the ships were flying Burgundian (hence neutral) colours. It was the latter argument that Berndt Pawest later used at the peace talks in Utrecht.¹⁷⁸

Subsequent events indicate that the terms regarding the division of spoils were accepted by Paul Beneke and his crew (mercenaries).¹⁷⁹ However, because some of the crew/mercenaries had to stay with Beneke to take the caravel to Stade, and some had to sail the galley to Lübeck, whilst yet others may have wanted to remain in Hamburg, it was in the last of these cities that the looted goods were divided up in the presence of the caravel's owners, most probably

¹⁷⁸ See below.

¹⁷⁹ Compiled in the early 16th-century, Lübeck's *Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482* (pp. 118–19) stated that the profits had been divided into two halves. One went to the Gdańsk owners of the caravel, the other being shared among the crew. The much later *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik* (s. 13) recounted that the list of losses had amounted to 60,000 Flemish groats, equating to the value of the galley and her cargo (a reference to the list drawn up by Cristofano Spini), and that the 400-man crew had each received 100 marks and a further 21 marks in prize money. The second part of this statement seems attributable to interpretation rather than historical fact. Given that the exchange rate between the pound groat and the mark stood at 6–9 marks per pound, the figures quoted in the chronicle would give a total of 80,400 marks: $100 + 80 + 21 = 201 \times 400$ crewmen. This fact was, however, overlooked by scholars, who instead gave credence to the chronicle. According to Hirsch and Vossberg (*Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, pp. 97–99), after the owners of the caravel (Sidinghusen, Valandt and Niederhof) had reached Hamburg, the spoils were divided so that the owners took half for themselves, and out of this half they paid Paul Beneke. The second half was shared among the caravel's 400-strong crew, each man receiving prize money of 80–100 marks. Simson (op. cit., p. 291) came to similar conclusions, stating that 400 mercenaries received 101–121 marks each, and that the rest of the spoils were taken to Gdańsk. In contrast, Lienau (*Der Peter*, p. 34) believed that the sum of 4385 marks mentioned in the earlier cited letter of 22 June 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 52) was erroneous, and should really have read 43,850 marks. His opinion was, however, based on the fact that he considered the information in Caspar Weinreich's chronicle to be more reliable, hence that the crew had received 80–100 marks each as well as an extra 21 marks prize money, which, as the caravel had a crew of 400, would have given a grand total of around 44,000 marks. Lienau thought it all the more likely that this sum was correct as he trusted the estimate of 60,000 Flemish groats quoted in Caspar Weinreich's chronicle as the combined value of the ship and goods. It is, however, as well to remember that the value of a commodity is one thing and the chances of selling it to someone who knows that that it represents loot is quite another; in these circumstances the goods would have fetched lower prices.

before the envoys from Lübeck and Gdańsk left the port on 25 June 1473.¹⁸⁰ The Gdańsk citizens who owned the caravel took the cloth that had been aboard the galley and loaded it on to their own ship,¹⁸¹ Paul Beneke taking the items which (as he later claimed) they did not want, namely 10 pieces of white cloth and 6 pieces of another fabric as well as 300 pieces of English cheese / *kese*¹⁸² (probably meaning cheese destined for England). It can also be assumed that Beneke stowed Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* aboard the caravel.¹⁸³ It was perhaps while still in Hamburg that Beneke also sold three of the 18 terlings of cloth he had plundered in May 1473 from a Dutch ship owned by Jan van der Wateringe to two Lübeckers: Ludeckke Lamgenow and Volmer Musz.¹⁸⁴ We also know that it was through citizens of Lübeck (probably the above two) that he shipped two packages of goods to that city.¹⁸⁵ From there they were sent on to Travemünde, where they were reloaded on to a ship bound for Gdańsk, which was, however, detained (arrested) at the port (prior to 27 August 1473) by order of Lübeck's authorities.¹⁸⁶ Some of the spoils that had been allotted to the caravel's Gdańsk owners also found their way on to this ship; how this came about is explained further on.

In keeping with the agreed course of action, by 10 July Paul Beneke had sailed the caravel to Stade, which was ruled by the bishop of Bremen, who

180 This can be surmised from Paul Beneke's letter to Hamburg, written in Stade on 12 July 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 31). Interestingly enough, Hamburg must have sent a copy to Lübeck, as it is the copy in the latter city's archive that survives.

181 HR, II/7, no. 31: letter of 12 July 1473 from Paul Beneke to the city council of Hamburg, in response, as stated by Beneke, to the council's letter of 10 July. The term "own ship" (*in sin ship*) is open to interpretation: it could mean the caravel or some other ship, possibly the one that the three owners of the caravel (Sidinghusen, Valandt and Niederhof) had arrived on. It could also refer to the ship in Travemünde that would take the goods removed from the galley to Gdańsk.

182 HR, II/7, no. 31: Beneke explained that he had exported these goods duty free.

183 This can be deduced from the fact that it was Beneke who handed over the painting to St Mary's Church: see *Caspar Weinreich*, pp. 13–14 (editors' annotation based on Georg Mehlmann's chronicle).

184 HR, II/7, no. 32 (calendar); cf. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Altes Senatsarchiv, Externa Anglicana 34, k. 13, 15 July 1473.

185 Goods in general are referred to, as in HR, II/7, no. 71 (October 1473). It is not until October 1474 and May 1475 that there is mention of these packages having contained cloth (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Altes Senatsarchiv, Externa Borussica, 30, k. 545, 551). A "package of cloth" is defined as merchandise which is wrapped up (e.g. in leather) and bound with straps. "Package" was a general term, "bale" being more specific – see *Najstarszy tekst*, p. 221 (entry for *paka*) cf. pp. 205–06 (*bela-terling*).

186 This information comes from a letter of 27 August 1473 from Lübeck to Gdańsk (AP Gdańsk 300 D/ 29, no. 234; cf. extensive calendar HR, II/7, no. 69).

granted Beneke a safe conduct authorising his stay.¹⁸⁷ The city council of Hamburg, whose representatives had not been party to the arrangements made between Gdańsk and Lübeck, only realised after the event that Beneke had taken some of the prize goods with him, and on 10 July they wrote to him asking about the division of the spoils and accusing him of not having paid any duty on the goods he had taken away.¹⁸⁸ In his reply of 12 July Beneke explained how the spoils had been divided, and reiterated the reasons for launching an attack in stormy conditions on a galley bound for England. He also added that the Hamburg councillors had only themselves to blame, as they had not come to the caravel nor taken part in the relevant discussions.¹⁸⁹ He did not, however, answer their question about the three terlings of cloth sold to the two Lübeckers. On 15 July 1473 the city council of Hamburg turned to its counterpart in Lübeck asking for an explanation.¹⁹⁰ It appears that Lamgenow and Musz, the two Lübeckers who had bought the cloth looted from the Dutch ship, were questioned, both men affirming that the three terlings of cloth were now their property,¹⁹¹ but the case was to rumble on, as will be outlined below.

Berndt Pawest and the other members of the Gdańsk legation, together with the envoys from Lübeck and Hamburg, sailed to Amsterdam, most probably on 25 June 1473, and from there on to Utrecht, records confirming that the party from Gdańsk was present in Utrecht on 14 July 1473.¹⁹² However, we do not know when the duke of Burgundy's envoy, Lambert de Ee, reached Hamburg and Lübeck. It seems that it was his visit¹⁹³ and letters that prompted the city councils of Lübeck and Hamburg to issue a ban on buying anything from the

187 As recorded in the statement which Berndt Pawest made in Utrecht, in which he also mentioned that Lübeck and Hamburg had refused the caravel a berth at their respective ports for fear of reprisals (HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 33; similarly *Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482*, pp. 118–19).

188 The content of this letter can be surmised from the reply written by Paul Beneke (HR, II/7, no. 31).

189 HR, II/7, no. 31.

190 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Altes Senatsarchiv, Externa Anglicana 34, k. 13: "Unser fruntliken grut mitalles... ersamen herren besundern gudenftuden also gy uns to andern kortes geledenen tiden frenen in saken inwe Borger Ludecken Langen unde Volmer Musz von deren Terlinge laken wegen belangende so inw dat inhold soldes breves sunder twisel unvorgeten is so hadden wy deshalven Pawel Beneken unse srifte in der beteren wise benalet de uns dar upp sin strfliken antworde wedder schicket heft na lude desser ingehlechten Copien wor uth gy sine meinunge wol irnarden werde".

191 As stated in a letter of 27 September 1473 from the city of Haarlem to Gdańsk (HU, 10, no. 242).

192 HR, II/7, no. 52.

193 The fact that he had been in Lübeck and Hamburg was mentioned in Utrecht (HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 62).

captured galley,¹⁹⁴ which in turn had an impact on the fate of the two packages sent to Lübeck by Paul Beneke. Lambert de Ee's presence in Utrecht was noted on 14 July 1473.

Cristofano Spini, who since March 1473 had been running the Bruges branch of the Medici bank with Tommaso Portinari, also arrived in Utrecht in July 1473 to attend the negotiations. For the purposes of the investigation conducted in Utrecht he prepared a detailed statement of the losses that had been incurred by Tommaso Portinari and his partners (i.e. the Italian families referred to earlier, with the Medici foremost among them).¹⁹⁵ It is thanks to this 29-point list that we know what cargo the galley had been carrying. The list of lost goods and their value at that time is presented in Table 12. For the sake of comparison I have also included a statement of losses drawn up just over two decades later in 1496 (Table 13). The detailed nature of the list of July 1473 suggests that Cristofano Spini must have had some bills of lading (letters) which allowed him to prepare the statement.

It should be explained that the sums quoted in the list of losses are given in pounds groat (except for point 1 of Table 12), which were converted as follows: 1 pound groat equated to 4 ducats or 5 crowns or 6 gold florins.¹⁹⁶

The Anglo-Hanseatic negotiations in Utrecht began on 13 July 1473 (the first round lasting until 31 July, the second from 1 to 19 September).¹⁹⁷ As we know, Gdańsk was represented at these talks by Berndt Pawest, Rudolf Feldstete and master Johann Lindow.¹⁹⁸ A meeting with King Edward IV of England's deputies: his secretary and physician William Hatticklef,¹⁹⁹ doctor of law John Rossell²⁰⁰ and William Rosse, *vitallerer von Calesz*,²⁰¹ was held at the Franciscan friary in Utrecht on 14 July. On that same day the Gdańsk delegates were among those who met with the envoy sent by Charles the Bold – his secretary Lambertus von der Ee, who immediately broached the subject of the galley,

¹⁹⁴ This ban was discussed during the negotiations in Utrecht (HR, II/7, no. 35).

¹⁹⁵ HR, II/7, no. 41. On this subject see also Hirsch and Vossberg, *Caspar Weinreich*, Beilage 1, p. 96; Reumont, op. cit., p. 39: "valore di circa 160 000 zecchini o scudi d'oro".

¹⁹⁶ Von Ropp, op. cit., p. 133.

¹⁹⁷ HR, II/7, no. 34.

¹⁹⁸ HR, II/7, no. 34, p. 6.

¹⁹⁹ Ross (*Edward IV*, p. 321) includes him among Edward IV's closest advisers.

²⁰⁰ The editors of HR added that he was also keeper of the king's privy seal, though he was not appointed to this office until 1474: see Ross, op. cit., pp. 268–69, wherein we also read that John Russell was bishop of Rochester and Lincoln. He was reputed to be the best-educated man in England at the time. After Edward's death in 1483, Russell served as chancellor to Richard III (p. 430).

²⁰¹ For further information on him see Ross, op. cit., p. 220. All three men are mentioned in HR, II/7, no. 34, paragraph 11.

TABLE 12 Statement of losses drawn up in July 1473

Item no.	Goods / freight	Value	Total
1	Freight of alum	Worth 4000 ducats, converted to 1000 sterling groats in Flemish coin	
2	Freight of other English-owned goods	£450 groats	
3	Freight of other goods, mostly belonging to Pisa	£300 groats	
4	Artillery	£800	
5	Current coin	£400	
6	Chest of cloth ("breeden riitelicken goudine laken")	£500	
7	Barrel of ? ("vul bonetten")	£80	
8	120 "ponden" (pounds) of "gesponnen gouds"	£360	
9	Bedlinen, down pillows, various textiles	£150	
10	3 gold cloths (drapery?) and various bales of fabrics	£600	
11	2 chests and packages of silks and gold cloth	£750	
12	Gold cloth including satin (? "Up sattin ghewercht was")	£300	
13	Blue coloured cloth ("darof den grindt van goude was ende")	£80	
14	Other barrels "met bonetten"	£200	
15	Tapestries, tablecloths, towels	£50	
16	2 bales of Armentières and Burgundian cloth	£120	
17	2 paintings ("Item van beede de outaartaflen")	£100	
18	Barrels of other goods "grauwe ruggen" (including cloth)	£200	
19	"Gesponnen gouds"	£90	

TABLE 12 Statement of losses drawn up in July 1473 (*cont.*)

Item no.	Goods / freight	Value	Total
20	Quantities of cloth, jewels, gifts (“ghiften”) and many other items (not specified)	£10	
			£6540 groat
22 ^a	Lost alum (for clients in Southampton and London)	£500	
23	others – (“bleef”) numerous lost goods	£600	
24	Further freight charges for various items (freight from England/ London to Florence)	£400	
25	Further freight charges for goods (shipped to England and Pisa)	£2000	
26	Various goods (belonging to Tomaso)	£500	
27	Other costs	£200	
			£4200 groat
	Total losses estimated at 35–40,000 ducats		

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

a Item no. 21 featured only clarifications and not loss assessments.

TABLE 13 Data compiled by Gottlieb von Ropp based on lists of losses drawn up in 1473 and 1496.^a Numbers in the table refer to the numbered paragraphs in each list.

1473		1496	
4	Value of ship and her artillery: £800	12	8000 gold florins and more
5	Coin: £400	15/16	The patron had around 1660 florins and the owners (“Besatzung”) around 2000
7	Barrel full of “bonetten”: £80	5	(“bonnetz”): 420 florins
14	“Eine” of the same: £20	6	“bonnetz fins”: 820 florins

1473		1496	
8	120 pounds of “gesponnenes” gold: £360	8	“Trois bottes de fillet Dor”: 1140 florins
19	A further £30 and £90		
9	Bedlinen (“betten”), down pillows, linens (“Leinwand”): £150	13	(“grande quantite de vaiselle etc.”): 1200 florins
10	Three gold cloths (drapery?) and various bales of fabrics: £600	2	Three items of drapery: 2800 florins
11	Two chests and a package of silks and gold cloth: £750	3	Six pieces of the same (1 violet, 3 “cramoisyz”, 2 “bleu”, totalling 176 ells), as well as 1 piece of “cramois” satin: 3360 florins
12	gold cloth “al up satin gewrecht”: £300		
13	“der Grund von Gold und blau van coleure” £80	9	Two packages of cloth (velour, silk, damask): 1650 florins
15	Tapestries, towels, tablecloths: £50	7	“Ein Ballen tapisserie”: 324 florins
16	Two bales of cloth from Armentières and Bruges: £120	10	Bales of 24 pieces of cloth from Armentières: 870 groats
17	Two paintings: £100	11	(“fort belles et riches”): 360 groats
20	“Diverse geingere Gegenstande”: £10	4	“Drei Ballen langen Pfeffers”: c. 440 groats
		14	Food: 800 florins

a Cf. with the list in von der Ropp, op. cit., pp. 133–34 (based on HR, III, no. 676).

demanding her return. However, the Gdańsk contingent would not accede to these demands,²⁰² which is understandable given the decision that had already been taken in Hamburg to break up the ship (though, playing for time, they probably made no mention of this).

The next discussions concerning the galley and her cargo took place during two rounds of talks held in Utrecht between the Hanse and the Dutch (subjects of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy), from 17 to 21 July and from 25

202 HR, II/7, no. 34, paragraph 10.

August to 6 September respectively.²⁰³ The duke was represented, as before, by Lambertus von der Ee, accompanied by master Jan Halewijn,²⁰⁴ master Johan de Grotze (Jan Gros),²⁰⁵ and Gerd (Gerrit) van Assendelft.²⁰⁶ Their meeting with Hanseatic delegates (including the aforementioned trio from Gdańsk) was once again held at the Franciscan friary.²⁰⁷

It was in Utrecht around 21 July 1473 that Cristofano Spini lodged a complaint against Gdańsk on behalf of Charles the Bold.²⁰⁸ This was probably also when he submitted a list of the losses incurred by Tommaso Portinari as a result of Paul Beneke's raid.²⁰⁹ Someone else who expressed his concerns about recovering lost goods was the papal legate sent by Sixtus IV (1471–1484), who also owned part of the cargo aboard the galley. The legate in question appears to have been the self-styled patriarch of Antioch, a Franciscan named Ludovico.²¹⁰ Speaking on behalf of the pope he stated that the patron of the captured ship was a noble man, and that those who had attacked the galley should be put in prison.²¹¹

Further arguments were put forward by Charles the Bold's representatives, who stressed that the galley was owned by the duke ("genomen galleiden wo dat de eren gnedigen princen tobehorde"), whilst most of the goods belonged to Tommaso Portinari, a loyal servant and member of the duke's household.²¹² It was also emphasised that the ship had borne the coat of arms of his highness, Charles the Bold,²¹³ which in effect meant that the Gdańsk privateer had no right attacking a ship which was neutral in the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict.

203 HR, II/7, no. 35.

204 Master Jan van Halewijn (d. 2 February 1478) was a doctor of both laws and lord of Zwevezele; he held various public offices (see Damen, *op. cit.*, pp. 464–65).

205 Ibidem, pp. 292–93.

206 For more on van Assendelft see ibidem, pp. 442–43. On the negotiations conducted in Utrecht by the duke of Burgundy's envoys, Gerd von Assendelft, Jean de Halewin and Lambert van der Ee, and on the participation in these talks of Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse, Guillaume de Clugny and Jehan Gros see Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich*, p. 97, see also pp. 221, 227, 241, 249.

207 HR, II/7, no. 35. Issues pertaining to the galley are mentioned in paragraphs 32–47, 62–63, 73.

208 HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 40.

209 Ibidem, no. 41.

210 Richard Walsh, "The coming of humanism to the Low Countries: some Italian influences at the court of Charles the Bold", *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 25 (1976), p. 174.

211 HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraph 43.

212 Ibidem, paragraph 32.

213 Ibidem, paragraph 35; cf. 106 (statement made by Johann van Halewijn).

Complaints were also made about the terrible, inhumane treatment meted out to the crew of the galley by Paul Beneke, even alleging that some of them had been murdered (“unde grote inhumaniteten und umbillicheide deme volke bewiset also dat se de vormordet und umbarhartigen gehalden hadden, do se alrede orer unde des schepes mechtich weren se aver bord werpende unde denne solk grot kostlik gud darinne wesende weldichlik und roflik genomen”).²¹⁴ The duke of Burgundy’s advisers insisted that Gdańsk, and any other Hanseatic towns at which Beneke would call with the galley, should confiscate the goods she was carrying, in particular the alum.²¹⁵ Berndt Pawest and his fellow Gdańsk delegates blamed the war with England for Beneke’s actions. They argued that the privateer had not noticed the Burgundian arms, which were supposedly displayed in the wrong place and were all the more difficult to spot as the galley had been sailing against the wind.²¹⁶ They gave assurances that both Lübeck and Hamburg knew that there was a total ban on buying anything from the captured ship.²¹⁷ Pawest²¹⁸ declared that he was certain that the whole issue concerning the galley would be cleared up on Beneke’s return to Gdańsk.²¹⁹

In Utrecht Paul Beneke was accused not only of seizing the Burgundian galley but also of the earlier mentioned attack on the Dutch ship owned by Jan von der Wateringe, and of appropriating the cargo of cloth she had been carrying. This complaint was lodged in late August 1473 by Johann van Halewiin. Lübeck, whose merchants had purchased three terlings of the looted cloth from Beneke, was accused of complicity. The Dutch demanded that Lübeck pay compensation of between 68 and 100 pounds groat.²²⁰ The only concession Gdańsk’s delegates made was in the case of an unnamed merchant from Zierixee who had lost a consignment of goods aboard the ship, pledging to pay

²¹⁴ Ibidem, paragraph 32.

²¹⁵ Ibidem, paragraph 38; paragraph 39 mentions the request made to the embassy from Gdańsk.

²¹⁶ Ibidem, paragraph 33; see also paragraphs 34–37.

²¹⁷ Ibidem, paragraph 34.

²¹⁸ In a letter to Gdańsk of 4 August 1473, Lübeck expressed the conviction that Berndt Pawest would negotiate well in Utrecht about the galley and the caravel (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 231).

²¹⁹ HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraphs 106–12.

²²⁰ See below HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraphs 45 ff., cf. also HU, 10, no. 239; letter of 10 September 1473, stating that the three terlings of cloth would have to be returned.

him 200 Rhenish florins in compensation,²²¹ though there are no clues as to why his particular claim was upheld. The inquest into the attack on the Dutch ship and the explanations offered by the Hanseatics indicate that Beneke accepted absolutely no blame for this incident. However, the Dutch would not relent and threatened to close their ports to seamen from Hanseatic towns if they did not recover the cloth or receive compensation for it.²²² In the end these mediations and threats had no effect (other than securing the promise of 200 florins for the merchant from Zierixee) given that on 16 September 1473 the duke of Burgundy's council interceded on Jan von der Wateringe's behalf with the city council of Gdańsk.²²³ Meanwhile on 27 September 1473 the city of Haarlem approached the city council of Gdańsk suggesting that if Paul Beneke were to pay Jan van der Waterlinge compensation for 18 terlings of cloth, the issue of the three terlings sold to merchants from Lübeck would be forgotten and the complaint withdrawn.²²⁴ Not long afterwards, however, the Dutch retaliated against Beneke's actions, as will be discussed later.

Before dealing with further proceedings in Utrecht, let us return to the aforementioned arrest in Travemünde of the ship whose cargo included two packages of goods (among them cloth) sent by Paul Beneke. Lübeck had ordered this arrest in response to news filtering through from Utrecht about the case of the galley having drawn the interest of Charles the Bold, and in particular about the extensive complaint lodged by Cristofano Spini.²²⁵ The action taken by Lübeck suggests that the city was already fearful of reprisals from the duke of Burgundy. We know that its municipal authorities had issued a ban to stop their citizens buying anything from the captured galley.²²⁶ However, the principal reason behind their decision appears to have been the complaint written on 10 July 1473 (possibly in Bruges) by Lucchese merchants regarding

221 HR, II/7, no. 35, paragraphs 108, 110 and 111.

222 Ibidem, paragraph 45, see also 46–47, 60–73, continuation of the case – 29 August 1473 – paragraphs 75, 84–95 (30 August), with long speeches and support from Lambert van der Ee.

223 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 154.

224 HU, 10, no. 242, wherein mention is made that similar letters were sent to Gdańsk by the governor general and council of Holland.

225 On the news from Utrecht, including the complaint made by Cristofano Spini, see the letter of 27 August 1473 from Lübeck to Gdańsk: HR, II/7, no. 69 (calendar), AP Gdańsk, 300 D/300 D/29, no. 234.

226 It is not known when exactly Lübeck issued this ban; the first mention of it dates from 27 August 1473 (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 234).

Paul Beneke's attack on the galley, which had resulted in losses for Johann Dati, a merchant and burgher of Lucca. The complaint was addressed to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*.²²⁷ We know that on 5 August Dati himself wrote to Lübeck, enclosing a copy of this complaint.²²⁸ On 12 August 1473 Lübeck's city council sent Gdańsk copies of letters from the authorities of Lucca, Johan Dati and the lord of Veere;²²⁹ the last of these letters does not survive but doubtless also supported the cause of the aggrieved merchant. Suspicions that the aforesaid packages contained Johan Dati's goods may have induced the city council of Lübeck to order the arrest of the ship in Travemünde.²³⁰ This move prompted Johann Sidinghusen, one of the owners of the caravel, to travel from Hamburg to Lübeck (presumably because some of the goods/booty aboard the impounded ship were his). Attempts were made to establish who owned the packages in question, and Johann Sidinghusen was promised that they would be handed over to him if he could prove that they had not been purloined from a friend of the Hanse (and Johan Dati would no doubt have been perceived as such a friend). However, because Sidinghusen was unable to provide the proof required, orders were given to bring the two packages from Travemünde to Lübeck,²³¹ where they would be held until the issue of their ownership had been resolved, to which end a commission, witnesses and a notary would be appointed. For his part, Johann Sidinghusen pledged that Gdańsk would defend the interests of the Hanse.²³² On 27 August 1473 the city council of Lübeck wrote about this situation to Gdańsk, asking for a response and stating that copies of this letter had also been sent to the Lord of Veere and the Lucchese authorities.²³³ Around 2 September 1473 (or maybe even earlier) Tiedemann Valandt and Heinrich Niederhof made the journey from Hamburg

227 HR, II/7, no. 30. As noted by Rößner (*Hansische Memoria in Flandern*, p. 251) the Lucchesi were the third largest group of Italian merchants (after the Florentines and the Genoese) in Bruges.

228 HR, II/7, no. 33 (calendar), AP Gdansk, 300 D/21, no. 113: letter of 5 August 1473 from Johan Dati, giving notification that he is sending these letters.

229 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 232.

230 The saga of the detained packages comes to light in a letter of 27 August 1473 from Lübeck to Gdańsk. There is no mention in it that the packages might have contained goods belonging to Johan Dati, but the fact that a copy of the letter was sent to Dati, to the lord of Veere and to the authorities of Lucca (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/ 29, no. 234) suggests that this was believed to be the case.

231 Ibidem, no. 234.

232 Ibidem, no. 234.

233 Ibidem, no. 234.

to Lübeck, most likely to help Johann Sidinghusen²³⁴ investigate the issue of the two packages of goods. In a letter of 2 September 1473 the city council of Lübeck requested that Gdańsk also get Sidinghusen, Valandt and Niederhof to address the issue of compensation for the galley.²³⁵ This implies that the galley must have already been broken up by that point, as per the agreement of 22 June 1473, and also that news must have come from Utrecht about Tommaso Portinari (the injured party) having made a claim for compensation. The case concerning the two packages dragged on unresolved, with Paul Beneke later demanding their return.²³⁶

As for the negotiations in Utrecht, on 19 September 1473 England and the Hanse signed a preliminary peace agreement. Gdańsk was still represented by Berndt Pawest, Rudolf Feldstete and Johann Lindow.²³⁷ The latter two then sailed to Hamburg, where they stayed for some time,²³⁸ whilst Pawest remained in Utrecht for several more weeks awaiting the arrival of Jacob Vos, who was engaged in peace negotiations at the court of King Louis of France,²³⁹ from where he wrote extensive letters on 9 and 10 October to the city council of Gdańsk.²⁴⁰ By 30 October 1473 Pawest had reached Lübeck, where he attended to various official matters (probably also concerning the caravel), after which he planned to return to Gdańsk.²⁴¹ This, however, proved impossible due to the resumption of talks in Utrecht, this time between the Dutch and the Hanse.

234 Extensive calendar in HR, II/7, no. 70 a (the original letter is probably lost).

235 HR, II/7, no. 70.

236 See below.

237 HR, II/7, no. 44.

238 According to Berndt Pawest's letter of 10 October 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 56).

239 Leaving for Utrecht, Berndt Pawest had dispatched Jacob Vos from Hamburg (to Saint Michel, France) aboard a small ship in order to negotiate the terms of a peace with King Louis XI of France on behalf of Gdańsk. Jacob was accompanied by Nikolaus Vedderic. They took with them a letter from the Hanse proposing that a peace be concluded for eight to ten years. Pawest did not write to Gdańsk about having sent Jacob Vos on this mission until 9 October 1473 (HR, II/7, no. 55). We know about the second envoy from Louis XI's letter to the Hanse (see HR, II/7, no. 45, see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 15). On 25 August 1473 Louis agreed to the proposal of a ten-year peace (from 25 August 1473 to 25 August 1483), HR, II/7, no. 45 (see AP Gdańsk 300 D/17 B, no. 15). On the following day (26 August) the French king issued a letter confirming his agreement to the peace treaty and informing the Hanse of his decision via Jacob Vos and Nikolaus Vedderic (HR, II/7, no. 47; cf. *Lettres de Louis XI*, v [1472–1475], ed. Joseph Vaesen, 1895, no. 748). For an overview of this agreement see Abraham-Thisse, *Le commerce*, p. 133, J. Favier, op. cit., p. 619. It was probably during these talks with the French that Jacob Vos heard about the history of the galley which was later captured by Paul Beneke (the galley had been seized by French privateers and sold back to her owners for 10,000–12,000 crowns, which Berndt Pawest wrote about in a letter to Gdańsk: HR, II/7, no. 55).

240 HR, II/7, nos. 55 and 56.

241 HR, II/7, no. 57.

We do not know when Paul Beneke set off from Stade to Gdańsk aboard the caravel, taking some of the loot with him, but by 28 October 1473 he had arrived in Gdańsk. It was from there that he wrote to Lübeck²⁴² demanding the return of the two impounded packages of goods, which he deemed to have been legally acquired. He asked that they be handed over to his friend Claus van Kaelven of Lübeck. Beneke also claimed that the seizure of the galley and her cargo had been lawful (probably referring to the Hanseatic ban on trade with England) and reminded the Lübeckers that he had been a loyal servant of the Hanse for the past four years (“dat ik der ghemenen hense unde dem koepman gedenet hebbe 4 jaer lanc unde umme des besten willen uthgelegen hebben”). The issue of the packages was finally settled in Beneke’s favour, but not until December 1475.²⁴³

It was most probably Paul Beneke who brought Hans Memling’s *Last Judgment* to Gdańsk as part of the loot from the galley. The painting was hung in St George’s Chapel inside the Main Town’s Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁴⁴

The next phase of negotiations between the Dutch and envoys from the Wendish towns of the Hanse (thus excluding Gdańsk) took place in Utrecht from 26 November to 13 December 1473.²⁴⁵ However, yet another round of talks was planned, this time involving a delegation from Gdańsk. Berndt Pawest, who had taken part in the earlier negotiations, had been in Lübeck from 30 October, sending reports on political matters back to the city council of Gdańsk.²⁴⁶ By 2 November 1473 he was already aware that the council had delegated him to attend the next round of peace talks in Utrecht,²⁴⁷ but he had still not left Lübeck on 11 January 1474,²⁴⁸ probably awaiting better weather for his journey.

The ship and goods seized by Paul Beneke were not returned, and in early 1474 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* learned of threats that a letter of reprisal issued by Charles the Bold would be put into effect. The Four Members

242 HR, II/7, no. 71.

243 HR, II/7, no. 71.

244 The painting seized from the galley and hung in St Mary’s Church, Gdańsk, was mentioned in Caspar Weinreich’s chronicle (p. 13), with an annotation based on Georg Mehlman’s chronicle.

245 HR, II/7, nos. 79, 80.

246 HR, II/7, nos. 57–62, 64–67. On 2 and 6 November 1473 he complained that he had to stay in Lübeck and go back to Utrecht, whilst on 29 December 1473 he wrote, among other things, about the duke of Burgundy’s letter of reprisal, no. 65. See also: letter of 6 November 1473 from Lübeck to Gdańsk about Berndt Pawest’s plans; Gdańsk to Lübeck, 15 November 1473 and HR, II/7, p. 227, n. 1–2; n. 3: reference to the *Danziger Recesse*, see Thunert, 28 October 1473.

247 HR, II/7, no. 58.

248 HR, II/7, no. 67. On 18 January 1474 the city council of Gdańsk wrote to Berndt Pawest instructing him about the need to negotiate in Utrecht (*ibidem*, no. 163.).

of Flanders were contemplating taking this step, as were the authorities of other Burgundian provinces, namely Brabant, Holland and Zeeland, if Tommaso Portinari had not been compensated for his losses by 24 June 1474. On 20 January 1474 the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* wrote to Gdańsk of this danger.²⁴⁹ Berndt Pawest tried to counteract the threat of reprisals by writing to the Parliament of Mechelen (one of the highest authorities in Flanders) asking them not to act on Charles the Bold's letter of reprisal.²⁵⁰ On 19 February 1474 Pawest received a reply from the parliament secretary, Je Jehan de Longueville, stating that for the time being the letter would not be enforced.²⁵¹

At some unspecified time (though no later than early 1474) Paul Beneke received a complaint from Louis de Bruges, earl of Winchester, lord of Gruuthuse, and governor general of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. Beneke rejoindered that when he had attacked the galley she had been sailing in English rather than Burgundian waters²⁵² (which was not true). In response to Beneke's attack on the Dutch ship, in January 1474 the Council of Holland issued a demand for compensation from Gdańsk for Johann van der Waterynge, threatening that noncompliance would result in reprisals against Hanseatic ships arriving at the ports of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland.²⁵³ However, Berndt Pawest did not forward this demand to Gdańsk until the end of March 1474.²⁵⁴

On 29 January 1474 Margaret, duchess of Burgundy and wife of Charles the Bold, sent a letter to Paul Beneke and other Hanseatics heading to Utrecht, demanding compensation for the items stolen from the galley, including those stamped with the owner's marks of the ship's navigator, the Englishman Roger Truman.²⁵⁵ Berndt Pawest, who had arrived in Utrecht on 1 February 1474,²⁵⁶ received a copy of this letter several days later (around 9 February 1474).²⁵⁷ Deputies of the Four Members of Flanders also set off for Utrecht in February

249 HR, II/7, no. 134; cf. also letter from Lübeck to Gdańsk (amongst other things about the reprisals threatened against the Hanse), no. 135; letter of 2 February 1474, AP Gdańsk, 300 D/24 B, no. 39; similarly AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 243 (HR, II/7, no. 136. calendar), letter of 7 February 1474 from Lübeck to Gdańsk.

250 HR, II/7, nos. 167 and 168.

251 HR, II/7, p. 380, n. 1, also nos. 168 and 169.

252 This reply to the lord of Gruuthuse was mentioned in early March 1474 during the assembly in Utrecht: see HR, II/7, no. 138, paragraph 135.

253 HR, II/7, no. 167, p. 381, n. 3.

254 HR, t. II/7, no. 167, 168.

255 HR, II/7, no. 164.

256 HR, II/7, no. 165, with reports of 3 and 4 February 1474, also nos. 165 and 166, and 24 March 1474, no. 167.

257 On that same day two other Hanseatic envoys to Utrecht, Johann Duerkop and Gerhard Brunns, wrote about this letter to the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*.

1474. We know that they included master Jan (Johann) Coolbrant of Mechelen, now resident in Bruges,²⁵⁸ the knight Anselmo Adornes of Bruges, mayor Jacop te Voocht of Ghent, Gheraert de Groote, master Gilliose van der Gracht and Jan van de Rine. All of them were to raise the issue of the galley and compensation for Tommaso Portinari during the talks in Utrecht.²⁵⁹ Plans were already in place for Anselmo Adornes to travel to Poland with the papal legate Ludovico of Bologna, patriarch of Antioch, taking with him letters from Charles the Bold to King Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk.²⁶⁰ The city council of Bruges was also planning to send Zegher Withaert to Lübeck, Gdańsk and other Hanseatic cities, carrying letters concerning goods appropriated from the galley,²⁶¹ but this mission does not appear to have taken place until the autumn of 1474. It seems that by this time it was clear that the ship could not be recovered, and so Tommaso Portinari had been consulted to establish what sum of compensation the Hanse should be asked to pay for the galley. However, demands would still be made for the return of the looted goods.

The next round of negotiations in Utrecht (with England and Holland) took place during February–March (and May) 1474.²⁶² On 3 March (between 8 and 9 a.m.) the deputies representing the Four Members of Flanders (Anselmo Adornes, Gelies van der Gracht, master Jan Colbrand, Gerd de Grote, master Wilhelm Witz and master Johan van dem Riin), addressed the subject of the raid carried out by “van Dantsiik, de eyn karveel up ere eventuer unde darup Pawel Beneken vor eynen hovetman” and Tommaso Portinari’s expectations regarding compensation for lost goods.²⁶³ Essentially, they gave a summary

258 We know of his titles from other sources; on his conducting of negotiations, see HR, II/7, p. 197, n. 2; cf. *Handelingen van de Leden*, no. 135, including point b, p. 204.

259 HR, II/7, pp. 197–98, n. 2; cf. *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen (1467–1477). Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse Steden en Kasselrijen en vorstelijke ambtenaren*, ed. Willem Peter Blockmans, Brussels 1971, nos. 135–136. N.B. On 4 February mention was made that a letter should be sent to the duke of Burgundy – 138, paragraphs 138 and 145, cf. *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühne (1433–1477)* ed. Werner Paravicini, Bd. II, Frankfurt 1995, no. 2481 (source accessible on the *Prosopographia Burgundica* website, see Bibliography).

260 Anselmo’s planned journey prompted a group of merchants from Bruges to ask him to attend to some business on their behalf in Rostock and other Hanseatic towns. Genoese merchants based in Bruges also turned to him for help. They wanted to commission the construction of a ship in Gdańsk: see Beata Możejko, “Zapomniane poselstwo do Polski, z dziejów kontaktów między księstwem Burgundii a królem Kazimierzem Jagiellończykiem”, in: *Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, no. 16, 2011.

261 HR, II/7, p. 197, n. 2.

262 HR, II/7, no. 138, envoys from the Four Members of Flanders, paragraph 107: Ancelmus Adorne, knight, Jeliies van der Gracht, master Johan Colbrand, Gerd de Grote.

263 Ibidem, paragraph 130.

of findings regarding this raid and the efforts made by Tommaso Portinari to recover the ship and her cargo. The envoys of the Four Members of Flanders explained that their involvement in this case stemmed from the commercial privileges they enjoyed courtesy of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.²⁶⁴ Mention was made of the steps that had already been taken, such as seeking the support of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, threatening to act on the letter of reprisal issued against the Hanse by Charles the Bold, and the negotiations led by Cristofano Spini.²⁶⁵ Petitions to resolve the dispute had been made principally to Gdańsk, but also to Hamburg and Lübeck.²⁶⁶ Gdańsk was asked to pay compensation of 10,000–11,000 pounds groat for the galley,²⁶⁷ which was apparently the sum that had been agreed on with Tommaso Portinari. In response, Berndt Pawest, ostensibly explaining why Gdańsk would not make this payment, again used the excuse that Paul Beneke had not noticed the duke of Burgundy's coat of arms on the galley when he had attacked her, and that the incident had taken place in English not Burgundian waters.²⁶⁸

A significant aspect of this case in terms of collaboration between the Hanseatic cities was the position adopted by the city councils of Lübeck and Hamburg, whose deputies (Hamburg was represented by Hinrick Murmester) at the talks in Utrecht maintained that they had not been involved in the attack on the duke of Burgundy's ship.²⁶⁹ For his part, Berndt Pawest was adamant the Gdańsk would not take sole responsibility for restitution of the lost goods, and in particular for payment of compensation for the galley, explaining that the ship had been taken over by Lübeck.²⁷⁰ In view of the refusal to admit liability by Berndt Pawest, who was after all representing the Gdańsk city council, the envoys of the Four Members of Flanders decided to write a separate letter to the city council of Gdańsk regarding the case of Tommaso Portinari, which I will examine in greater detail below.

The peace concluded in Utrecht in February 1474 resulted in Edward IV confirming Hanseatic privileges in England and promising to pay compensation of 25,000 pounds. In return English merchants received confirmation of the privileges they had enjoyed hitherto in Prussia. An agreement was also reached between the duke of Burgundy, the Dutch and the Hanse. Dutch merchants were

264 Ibidem, paragraph 130.

265 Ibidem, paragraphs 130, 131.

266 Ibidem, paragraph 131.

267 Ibidem, paragraphs 140, 145, 147, 155 (on the amount of compensation), 156.

268 Ibidem, paragraph 135.

269 Ibidem, paragraphs 136 and 137.

270 Ibidem, paragraphs 140, 145, 147, 155 (on the amount of compensation), 156.

allowed to trade in the Baltic but their goods did not have to be unloaded at the Hanseatic staple in Bruges.²⁷¹

During the negotiations in Utrecht, on 7 February (*Montag vor Scholastica*) 1474 Lübeck petitioned the city council of Gdańsk to consider the demands for compensation made by the injured parties in the case of the galley and to prevail upon the commander of the caravel to soften his stance so that the interests of the Hanse would not be harmed (probably a reference to the threat of reprisals authorised by the duke of Burgundy being put into action).²⁷² Meanwhile on 4 March 1474 the city council of Gdańsk, writing to Lübeck about the captain of the great caravel's stay at the city port ("de ridere des groten caravels, by uns hebben vorbadet"), called for the city council of Lübeck to also accept liability (on behalf of the Hanse) for compensating the duke of Burgundy.²⁷³ On that same day the city council of Gdańsk also wrote to the Four Members of Flanders trying to convince them to withdraw the threat of arresting Hanseatic ships.²⁷⁴

On 5 March 1474 the envoys of the Hanseatic towns who had convened in Utrecht wrote to the city council of Gdańsk, essentially going over what had already been recorded in the proceedings of this meeting, namely about the complaint made by Tommaso Portinari, and the duke of Burgundy's delegates, regarding the galley that had been flying Burgundian colours and displaying the duke's arms when attacked. They reminded the council that the papal legate (probably meaning Ludovico, patriarch of Antioch), Charles the Bold, the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* and the deputies of the Four Members of Flanders had already sent letters of their own to Gdańsk concerning this matter. The Hanseatic delegates advised Gdańsk to send someone to Bruges and to

271 Dollinger, op. cit., p. 276; cf. Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich*, pp. 97–101; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie 1377–1474*, 11: *Diplomatie*, Vienna 1992, pp. 735–36. The Hanseatic League's peace negotiations, both with England and France, also had an impact on its relations with Brittany. As we know, during Berndt Pawest's time as commander of the caravel there had been an attack on Breton shipping (contrary to Hanseatic directives). Now in 1474 these relations were normalising, which was not without significance for the fate of the Gdańsk (formerly French) caravel. On 9 July 1474 Francis II, duke of Brittany (the duchy was then a fief of the French crown, with Nantes as its main political centre) offered to enter into an agreement with members of the Hanse that would guarantee their mutual safety at sea and on land. This agreement was to be valid until 25 December 1475: HR, II/7, no. 238; see also 239, letter from the duke of Brittany's council, including a reference to citizens of Gdańsk calling at the port of La Baye.

272 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 243; cf. HR, II/7, no. 136.

273 HR, II/7, no. 137, mentioning the high maintenance costs incurred by the owners of the caravel.

274 We only know about this letter from the reply of 28 April 1474 written to Gdańsk by Bruges, Ghent, Ypres and Brugse Vrije: HR, II/7, no. 172.

arrange a meeting with Tommaso Portinari and the Four Members of Flanders. They also pleaded with the council to consider Portinari's claims for compensation.²⁷⁵ That same day the envoys of the Four Members of Flanders wrote to Gdańsk, describing the circumstances of the raid. Yet again they drew attention to the fact that most of the galley's cargo, as well as her tackle and equipment, was not English property but belonged to Tommaso Portinari, a member of the duke of Burgundy's council. They also stated that Portinari intended to send a representative to Bruges by 15 May to demand justice.²⁷⁶ They enclosed a copy of the list of losses incurred by Tommaso Portinari (drawn up by Cristofano Spini) with this letter and expressed their hopes for a positive resolution of the compensation claim by 24 June 1474.²⁷⁷ Charles the Bold's envoy, the knight Anselmo Adornes, set off from Utrecht to Gdańsk with the letter (and list of losses),²⁷⁸ accompanied by the papal legate, the Franciscan Ludovico of Bologna, to demand justice for Tommaso Portinari.²⁷⁹

On 24 March 1474 Berndt Pawest, by then in Lübeck, wrote to Gdańsk about the treaty concluded with England in Utrecht and forwarded the earlier mentioned demand of 24 January 1474 issued by the Council of Holland. He also wrote that he hoped there would be a successful resolution to the dispute with Tommaso Portinari.²⁸⁰

It is probably safe to hazard a guess that the case of the galley significantly enlivened contacts between Gdańsk and Hanseatic as well as non-Hanseatic correspondents (Holland and the Four Members of Flanders). This period of greater communication was marked by the visit to Poland of emissaries sent by Charles the Bold. Anselmo Adornes and the papal legate Ludovico of Bologna initially arrived in Amsterdam, and from there moved on to Hamburg, and then overland to Lübeck.²⁸¹ On 26 March both men were staying in Lübeck as guests of the city council. It was on that day that the Lübeck authorities asked Wismar to help the envoys on their journey to Gdańsk. On the way there

275 HR, II/7, no. 162, cf. also no. 161 (with an account of how Berndt Pawest did at these negotiations).

276 HR, II/7, no. 171. Mention is also made of the fact that the Hanseatic envoys did not want to take any responsibility for the raid. It is explicitly stated that the patron of the galley was Franchois S. Mathey, and the captain of the caravel was Paul Beneke.

277 HR, II/7, no. 171.

278 *Archief van de Familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemstichting te Brugge*, II: *Calendaren van de oorkonden en brieven tot en met 1500*, ed. Noël Geirnaert, Bruges 1989, nos. 222–225, originals: Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornes), Ls. 29–32; Możejko, *Zapomniane poselstwo*.

279 Możejko, *Zapomniane poselstwo*.

280 HR, II/7, no. 167, cf. also no. 168, letter of 27 March 1474 to Gdańsk.

281 Możejko, *Zapomniane poselstwo*.

they intended to call at Rostock, Stralsund, Greiswald and Wolgast.²⁸² They appeared in Gdańsk around 25 April and outlined the purpose of their mission to the city council.²⁸³ Nevertheless, they evidently failed to convince the council to change its position regarding the galley. Gdańsk's councillors told their visitors about the ongoing assembly of the Royal Prussian estates, which was taking place in Malbork with representatives of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, whose presence was also anticipated. Councillors Reinhold Niederhof and Georg Bock²⁸⁴ left Gdańsk to attend the assembly, apparently travelling together with the duke of Burgundy's deputies. Contrary to expectations, the king did not make a personal appearance in Malbork, instead remaining in Łęczyca.²⁸⁵ After the assembly had finished, on 6 May the papal legate Ludovico and Anselmo Adornes were received at the castle of Sztum (Stuhm), where Ścibór Bażyński, palatine of Malbork, issued a safe conduct for the legate in view of his plans to make a further journey to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.²⁸⁶ Several weeks later Ścibór Bażyński set out to attend an assembly of the Prussian estates in Toruń,²⁸⁷ probably accompanied by the two emissaries. The assembly lasted from 29 May to 15 June, although the monarch did not arrive in Toruń until around 5 June (on 4 June he was still in Nieszawa).²⁸⁸ Before the king's arrival there was an unnamed scandal involving the papal legate, which scotched both envoys' hopes of an audience with Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Prior to 4 June 1474 Anselmo Adornes did manage to meet the Florentine humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, alias Callimachus, whom he told about Tommaso Portinari's efforts to recover the galley (or obtain compensation) from Gdańsk.²⁸⁹ Buonaccorsi promised to help, confirming his offer in a letter to Tommaso Portinari written on 4 June 1474, though he also stated that because the plague was rife there was not much that he could do, and recommended that Portinari send a

282 Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornses), Ls. 29.

283 Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornses), Ls. 31, this transpires from the safe conduct issued by the city council of Gdańsk on 15 June 1474 (mentioning a stay in Gdańsk on 25 April 1474).

284 See Ścibór Bażyński's letters to Gdańsk of 17 April and 26 April 1474, and Niederhof and Bock's letter written in Malbork on 27 April 1474: Thunert, nos. 159, 160, 161.

285 Thunert, no. 161.

286 Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornses), Ls. 30, based on the safe conduct for both men issued by Ścibór Bażyński on 4 June 1474.

287 Thunert, no. 164.

288 See *ibidem*; Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Itinerarij Kazimira Jagiellona (sostajanie podgotovki). Issledovanija po istorii Litevskoj Metriki*, Moscow 1989, p. 309.

289 *Philippi Callimachi Epistulae Selectae* (hereinafter *Callimachi*), eds. Irmína Lichońska and Gabriela Pianko, Wrocław 1967, no. 8, pp. 64–69. Walsh (op. cit., p. 164) was also aware of this letter, though not of the context of the case it concerned.

fresh delegation.²⁹⁰ Notably, Buonaccorsi also believed that Charles the Bold had made a mistake in entrusting the leadership of this mission to Anselmo Adornes, a despicable man, who had additionally become embroiled in some form of intrigue. This was obviously a reference to the papal legate Ludovico of Bologna, though it is difficult to say what Buonaccorsi had in mind writing about his “skulduggery”.²⁹¹ In any event, on 4 June 1474 (in Toruń) Ścibór Bażyński, palatine of Malbork and starosta of Sztum, wrote a letter mentioning the circumstances of the meeting in May and the safe-conduct he had issued at the time.²⁹² The papal legate Ludovico of Bologna continued on his mission as far as Persia, to shah Uzun Hasan.²⁹³ On 15 June Anselmo Adornes was back in Gdańsk, where he received another safe-conduct for his onward journey,²⁹⁴ which turned out to be his return voyage, no doubt to escape the plague. By 1 July 1474 Adornes was in Lübeck, from whence he planned to go to Bremen.²⁹⁵

The dispute over who was to pay compensation for the galley was debated during Hanseatic meetings held in the spring of 1474. One of these took place in Lübeck on 25 April 1474. Those in attendance included councillors from the host city as well as from Hamburg, Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund. Gdańsk sent a letter clarifying certain issues concerning the galley, which was read out during the assembly.²⁹⁶ The city council of Gdańsk maintained that other members of the Hanseatic League, in particular Lübeck, should acknowledge joint liability, arguing that the spoils from the ship had been divided between the two cities.²⁹⁷ On 28 April 1474 delegates from the Four Members of Flanders (not yet aware of the outcome of Anselmo Adornus’ mission) promised

290 Buonaccorsi’s letter was written in Toruń and dated 4 June 1470, but the editors of his *Epistulae Selectae* rightly conclude that the date in question was really 4 June 1474, though they do not give their reasoning. The year could not have been 1470, as Filippo Buonaccorsi could not have been in Toruń at that time (having only just arrived in Poland). He stayed in that city (with King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk) in 1474, when the assembly of the Prussian estates took place: see Thunert, no. 164 (though Buonaccorsi is not mentioned). The assembly lasted from 29 May to 9 June 1474. Notably, in his letter Buonaccorsi mentioned the problems that Tommaso Portinari was having with Gdańsk, and these difficulties (i.e. concerning the galley) did not arise until the spring of 1473. Finally, the fact that Buonaccorsi referred to the plague in Prussia is also telling, as there was an outbreak of it there in 1474. *Callimachi*, no. 8; cf. Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

291 *Callimachi*, no. 8.

292 Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornses), Ls. 30.

293 Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 71–72.

294 Stadsarchief, Brugges, (Archief van de Familie Adornses), Ls. 31.

295 *Ibidem*, Ls. 32.

296 HR, II/7, no. 181, p. 392, 393.

297 HR, II/7, no. 181, paragraph 7.

that they would petition the duke of Burgundy on Gdańsk's behalf,²⁹⁸ presumably to ask him not to enforce the letter of reprisal he had issued (later sources indicate that the moratorium on reprisals was extended until 1 December). On 1 May 1474 Wolfart, son of the late Heinrich van der Veere, wrote to Gdańsk. He assured the city council that Charles the Bold's orders to seize Hanseatic goods (in retaliation for the capture of the galley) had not and would not be implemented. For his part, he pledged to return the favour of friendship his father had been shown by Gdańsk.²⁹⁹ On 5 May 1474 the city council of Amsterdam made Gdańsk a pledge to intercede with the duke of Burgundy and the Great Council of Mechelen³⁰⁰ to stop seizing Hanseatic goods in response to the incident with the galley.³⁰¹

On 2 February 1474, in retaliation for Paul Beneke's actions against Jan van der Wateringhe of Haarlem, the Dutchman seized a hulk and a consignment of goods belonging to Clays Kamme (Cam) of Gdańsk (on the authority of documents issued by Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy).³⁰² In another act of retaliation, a ship owned by two citizens of Gdańsk, councillor Philipp Bischof and burgher Luthe Wispendorp, were arrested at the port of Middelburg before December 1474.³⁰³

Numerous diplomatic moves were made in the case of the galley during mid-1474. The main protagonists: Charles the Bold, Tommaso Portinari and the Four Members of Flanders on one side and the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, Lübeck, Hamburg and Gdańsk on the other, exchanged letters and emissaries, though both sides remained entrenched in their respective positions. The injured party continued to demand financial redress for the lost galley, whilst the Hanse tried to prevail upon Gdańsk, which was after all one of its members, to reach a settlement with the duke of Burgundy and with Tommaso Portinari for

298 HR, II/7, no. 172.

299 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 160; cf. HR, II/7, p. 385, n. 1. On Wolfart Borselen, lord of Veere, see Damen, *op. cit.*, pp. 448–49.

300 This was the judiciary of the Duchy of Burgundy: Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, Philadelphia 1999 (2010 reprint), p. 119.

301 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 161; cf. HR, II/7, p. 385, n. 1.

302 On the attack carried out by Jan van der Wateringhe see a letter of 4 March 1474 from Rotterdam to Gdańsk: HU, 10, no. 278. See also a letter of 18 May 1474 to Gdańsk from the council of Holland and Zeeland: HU, 10, no. 309 (calendar), cf. 300 D/19, no. 162.

303 This emerges from a letter of 11 March 1475 from the city of Veere to Gdańsk, in which the council of Veere explained that it could do nothing about this, and that the lord of Veere was with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in Neuss (see below). HU, 10, no. 388, calendar; cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 171. See also HU, 10, no. 393: letter of 25 March 1475.

the greater good of the whole League.³⁰⁴ Gdańsk in turn insisted on Lübeck accepting joint liability for the losses.

After the failed mission of Anselmo Adornes, on 26 November 1474, at the request of Johann Colbrant, scholastic and canon of St. Donatian's (Sint-Donaas) in Bruges, the aldermen of the city's Hanseatic *Kontor* issued a letter recommending Colbrant to Gdańsk. They asked that the emissary be given a warm welcome and be assured a safe return journey, pointing out that he was favourably disposed towards the Hanse.³⁰⁵ Johann Colbrant was also authorised by Charles the Bold to negotiate with Gdańsk on the subject of compensation for Tommaso Portinari. The duke wrote about this in a letter to the city council dated 27 November 1474, advocating that the aggrieved party's demands be met.³⁰⁶ Colbrant was probably accompanied by a representative of Bruges' municipal authorities: the aforementioned Zegher Witbaert.³⁰⁷ Significantly, whilst awaiting the outcome of Johann Colbrant's mission, the Four Members of Flanders successfully petitioned for the threatened arrest of Hanseatic ships, scheduled to come into force on 1 December, to be postponed until Colbrant returned to Bruges.³⁰⁸ On 15 December 1474 the Four Members of Flanders informed the city council of Gdańsk that the deadline had been put back, at the same time complaining that their letter written during the talks in Utrecht that March (and delivered by Anselmo Adornes) had not had any effect on resolving the dispute over the galley.³⁰⁹

We do not know when Johann Colbrant and his companion reached Gdańsk. The financial accounts of the city of Bruges later noted that a payment had been made to Zeger Witbaert for a 60-day voyage to Prussia. Bearing in mind that the journey by sea from Bruges to Gdańsk would have taken around 20 days, if he had started out at the end of November 1474 he would probably

304 On the need for robust negotiations with the duke of Burgundy about the case of Tommaso Portinari see the letter of 17 July 1474 from the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges to Lübeck: HR, II/7, no. 240. These negotiations are also brought up in a letter of 7 August 1474 from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to Lübeck: HR, II/7, no. 226, wherein n. 1 makes reference to an entry in the city accounts of Ghent noting a payment made to master Janne van de Grecht, who held talks with Hanseatics in Bruges in order to bring to an end the dispute with Tommaso Portinari.

305 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 119, see also HR, II/7, p. 447, n. 2.

306 HR, II/7, no. 270, calendar, cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 165.

307 Zegher Witbaert's journey to Gdańsk was mentioned in the 1474/1475 city accounts of Bruges: see Stadsarchief Brugge, Stadsrekeningen 1474/1475, k. 171; cf. HR, II/7, p. 448.

308 This is revealed in a letter of 15 December 1474 from the Four Members of Flanders to Gdańsk: HR, II/7, no. 271, calendar, cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 166.

309 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 166, this was of course a reference to the letter of March 1474; cf. above, HR, II/7, no. 171.

have arrived before Christmas. His stay in Gdańsk could not have lasted longer than 20 days, which means that he must have been back in Bruges by February (albeit this would have required a return crossing in winter, unless he travelled overland). Before the end of this mission, on 18 January 1475 the Four Members of Flanders wrote to the city council of Gdańsk with the news that Charles the Bold had once again postponed the enactment of his letter of reprisal until 24 June 1477.³¹⁰ This was no doubt intended to smooth the path for Johann Collbrant's negotiations; however his mission proved fruitless and he was unable to convince Gdańsk to pay any compensation for the galley.³¹¹

On 14 April 1475 the city of Amsterdam informed Gdańsk that the duke of Burgundy and the Council of Mechelen had decided to suspend the reprisals for a period of six months, starting from 10 April³¹² (somewhat at odds with the information communicated on 18 January). On 1 May 1475, commenting on the arrest of Hanseatic ships, the authorities of Veere assured their counterparts in Gdańsk that they had the goodwill of both the city and the lord of Veere. The latter had even tried to persuade the duke of Burgundy to stop taking hostile measures against citizens of Gdańsk.³¹³ In the following months of 1475, Gdańsk received further letters about the suspension of reprisals. Representatives of the Four Members of Flanders wrote to Gdańsk about this matter on 18 June 1475. They asserted that despite the failure of Jan Colbrant's mission (no compensation had been secured for the galley), they had managed to get Charles the Bold to extend the suspension of reprisals, and sent Gdańsk a safe-conduct issued by the duke and valid for two years (up to the Feast of St John).³¹⁴ On 19 August 1475 the city council of Amsterdam wrote to the city council of Gdańsk in a similarly cooperative vein, stating that they hoped the duke's decision to suspend reprisals meant that commerce between Holland and Gdańsk would continue as normal.³¹⁵

Despite these friendly declarations unwelcome incidents still took place. A number of Gdańsk vessels were attacked and appropriated by citizens of Middelburg (Zeeland). On 25 August 1475 the city council of Middelburg wrote to Gdańsk about this incident, explaining that it had not happened on the

310 HR, II/7, p. 448, wherein mention is made of a similar letter from Amsterdam, and in April and June 1475 of a similar safe conduct from Holland and the Duchy of Burgundy: AP Gdańsk 300 D/13, nos. 128 and 129.

311 HR, II/7, p. 448.

312 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 173, cf. HU, 10, no. 400.

313 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 174, cf. reg. HU, 10, no. 413.

314 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19 no. 176.

315 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 177 = HU, 10, no. 440.

council's instructions, but on those of the duke of Burgundy's vogt, Druwarde van Wapenen, who had taken his orders from the duke.³¹⁶

The situation within the Duchy of Burgundy itself was, of course, becoming increasingly complicated at that time, Charles the Bold having taken action to expand his territories in the Rhineland by attempting to conquer Lorraine. The duke's army had invaded the Archbishopric of Cologne, and on 29 July 1474 they made camp near Neuss on the Rhine and began a siege of the city which lasted until June 1475.³¹⁷ Meanwhile, in July 1475 the forces of King Edward IV of England landed in Calais, France. Having ultimately been abandoned by Charles the Bold, who was busy orchestrating the siege and offensives against Duke René of Lorraine, Edward IV signed a treaty at Picquigny with Louis XI in August 1475, on the strength of which Edward withdrew from France for a one-off payment of 75,000 crowns and an annual pension of 50,000 crowns.³¹⁸ Charles the Bold continued his campaign up to 5 January 1477, when he was defeated and killed at the Battle of Nancy (Lorraine) by Duke René.³¹⁹ Concerns about the galley and compensation for Tommaso Portinari were put to one side and the case was not taken up again until February 1477 (see Epilogue).

5 The Final Act

Let us recall that Paul Beneke and *Peter von Danzig*, the caravel under his command, had been in Gdańsk since late October 1473. There is no record of the caravel having left the port at any time until 1475. However, given that the peace talks in Utrecht had ultimately brought an end to the conflict between England and the Hanse, it seems logical that this must also have marked the end of the caravel's career as a warship. The new situation brought about by the Treaty of Utrecht meant that she could go back to being used solely for commercial purposes. Thus we can venture a guess that the caravel's lengthy stay in the port of Gdańsk from October 1473 to 1475 may have come about because her

316 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19 no. 178. A letter in a similar vein was written on 28 August 1475 from the city of Veere, assuring the Gdansk city council that the vessels had not been looted in Veere's territories but in those of Middelburg, over which the lord of Veere had no authority. The city of Veere pleaded that their merchants not be punished: *ibidem*, no. 179; see also HU, nos. 460 and 468.

317 See Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 312–58, for the broader context of the conflict.

318 For more on this subject see Ross, *Edward IV*, Yale 1998, pp. 226–38; cf. J. Favier, *Louis XI*, Fayard 2001, pp. 664–93, and especially pp. 682–87, with detailed discussion of the Treaty of Picquigny.

319 Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 422–32 recounts the background and course of the battle.

Gdańsk owners, including Paul Beneke as shareholder, had decided to have her refurbished. Reverting to the role of a merchant ship meant that living quarters were no longer required on board for mercenaries, and the area that they had occupied could be cleared to provide more cargo space. Despite the absence of any detailed evidence, the fact that the caravel was being converted to a trading ship is suggested by the only episode of her history recorded in 1474. On 14 December of that year the Gdańsk magistrates' court dealt with a complaint lodged by Hans Detmers, who had lent Paul Beneke 14 Flemish pounds for needs relating to the caravel (though the fact that the loan was in Flemish pounds groat suggests that it might have been taken out when the caravel was still being used as a warship).³²⁰ As Paul Beneke had not repaid this loan within the period both sides had agreed on, a settlement was reached in court, under the terms of which one of the caravel's owners, Johann Sidinghusen, vouched that the money borrowed would be returned to Hans Detmers by the next Feast of John the Baptist (i.e. 24 June 1475). In reality, the whole sum was not repaid until 26 October 1481, several months after the caravel had been scrapped (see below), Johann Sidinghusen paying off the creditor.³²¹

The caravel embarked on her next, and last, voyage in 1475, when, as noted in the 16th-century history of Gdańsk known as Christoph Beyer's chronicle,³²² a fleet of 28 vessels set sail from Gdańsk. Among them were three caravels, one of which (no doubt *Peter von Danzig*) was commanded by Paul Beneke.³²³ Although the exact date of their departure is unknown, the chronicle relates that the ships were heading for "Browasie", hence the French town of Brouage on the Bay of Biscay, near Rochefort, south of La Rochelle, where Hanseatic merchants, amongst others, came to purchase salt.³²⁴ Only 21 of these ships

320 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 2b, k. 357–357v.; see also Charlotte Brämer, "Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter", *ZWG*, 61, 1922 p. 68.

321 Ibidem, k. 357v.

322 In fact a compilation of various historical notes and extracts.

323 The chronicle does not explicitly state that the caravel was *Peter von Danzig*, but this seems obvious from the fact that she was captained by Paul Beneke and from the context of events. See *Christoph Beyers des ältern Danziger Chronik*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, SRP, 5, Leipzig 1876, p. 443: "Im selbigen jare siegelten von Danczig 28 grosse schiffe nach Browase, als Paul Bencke, Heinrich Garden, Bartolomeus Schultz, di Waren 3 krafele, Hans Kruger, Kersten Keseler, Heinrich Friege 3 ammarel; Drick Schtz, Simon Lentzke, Andreas Meller, Hans Barsaw, Claus Dereskaw, Hans Dereskaw, Heinrich Schrodter, Peter Monniche, Pavel Rohell, Hans Sternberg, Claus Fuchs, Hans Crackow, Hans Dume, Claus Czan, Hans Rutting, Peter Kandt van Lubeck, Gert Top von Harderwick (...); cf. *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 17, n. 5. These 28 ships are also mentioned in Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, pp. 95–96 and Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 47.

324 On this port see, for example, Tranchant, *Le commerce*, index.

returned to Gdańsk;³²⁵ those that failed to do so included *Peter von Danzig*. Having loaded the caravel with salt in Brouage, Paul Beneke planned to call at her home port, La Rochelle, on the return voyage; however, the ship came to grief whilst leaving Brouage. Unfortunately, the sources do not record any details of the damage she suffered, and although we know that the caravel's owners initially considered having her repaired, the idea was swiftly abandoned. The reason for this was the action taken by her crew. In the face of the ship being unfit for purpose, they delegated seamen Jacob de Alnce and Johann Carpetarum to go to Paul Beneke and demand payment of the wages they were owed to date so that they could return to Gdańsk. The dispute between the caravel's commander and the crew proved serious enough that at some point prior to 23 August 1475 the case was brought before Gillbert de Comis, deputising for the admiral of Guyenne, the Gascon Odet d'Aydie,³²⁶ who happened to be in Castille at the time. Together with his colleagues Andreas Volgman and Mathelot de Bossonyn, Gillbert de Comis heard what both parties had to say and resolved the issue in accordance with the maritime law of Oléron (with Hanseatic amendments). In effect he pronounced that Paul Beneke (whose surname was recorded as "Bamissque") should pay the seamen a quarter of the money they were owed.³²⁷ On 23 August 1475 Gillbert de Comis informed the city council of Gdańsk of the whole episode. When added up, the sum that had to be paid to the crew and the cost of repairing the ship came to around 1000 marks, and so her three Gdańsk owners decided not to go ahead with the repairs. Thus, the damaged caravel, *Peter von Danzig*, remained in Brouage, where according to an annotation made by the Gdańsk chronicler Caspar Weinreich she was "destroyed",³²⁸ probably meaning that she was dismantled and her cargo (salt) reloaded on to other ships heading back to Gdańsk. It was aboard these vessels that Paul Beneke and the erstwhile crew of the caravel returned to Gdańsk in early October 1475.

We can deduce when Paul Beneke returned to Gdańsk thanks to the ongoing dispute over the goods taken from the galley he had raided. Before the caravel had set out on her final voyage, namely on 27 October 1474, the city council of Gdańsk had written to Lübeck about the two earlier discussed packages of

325 *Christoph Beyers des ältern Danizger Chronik*, p. 443; see Agats, *Der hansische Baienhandel*, p. 95.

326 For more on the admiral of Guyenne see Favier, *Louis XI*, index.

327 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/17 B, no. 18, letter of 23 August 1475 from Gillbert de Comis to the city council of Gdańsk.

328 *Caspar Weinreich*, p. 17: "Item dieses yors im herbest bleib liegen das grosse krauel von dantzke, de lebare, bleib in bro(w)asie liegen und war do geschleten".

goods, requesting that they be returned to Paul Beneke.³²⁹ On 11 August 1475, when Beneke was undoubtedly in France, the city council of Lübeck sent a reply turning down this request by reasoning that there was a ban on buying anything from Tommaso Portinari's appropriated galley and that he had to be compensated for his losses.³³⁰ Undeterred by this response, Gdańsk informed Lübeck on 7 September 1475 that Paul Beneke had authorised Jak (?) Richerdes and Hansz Wantschede to collect the two packages of cloth on his behalf,³³¹ this authorisation attesting that Beneke himself could not yet have reached Gdańsk by that time. His personal involvement in attempting to recover the goods while in Gdańsk is first noted in early October 1475,³³² which naturally means that he must have already returned from the Bay of Biscay. It was only after Beneke had intervened in person that the packages were finally released and handed over to his appointed representatives on 16 December 1475.³³³

This also draws the curtain on the story of the great caravel which was damaged when entering the port of Gdańsk in the summer of 1462. On her maiden voyage she sailed from La Rochelle to Gdańsk carrying a cargo of Atlantic salt; her final voyage, undertaken for the same purpose, was practically a mirror image of her first. Ironically, on her final outing she met with misfortune in Brouage, a stone's throw from her home port of La Rochelle. This event also brings to an end the main body of this monograph. There was inevitably a series of repercussions linked to the caravel's stint as a warship commanded by Paul Beneke and his capture of the richly laden galley that had been flying the flag of Burgundy. These rumbled on until the 1520s, by which time most of the protagonists who had been directly involved in the affair were dead. I refer briefly to these later ramifications (merely outlining the sequence of events without going into details) in the Epilogue. The repercussions that ensued during their lifetime are summarised in Table 14, below.

Thanks to the attack on the Burgundian galley and the seizure of the *Last Judgement* triptych, Paul Beneke became a model German hero in the 19th century, reaching almost mythical status as the quintessential Gdańsk sea captain. The development of this myth has been remarked on relatively recently

329 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Externa Borussica, 30, k. 549.

330 HU, 10, no. 439, see AP Gdańsk, 300 D/29, no. 252.

331 HU, 10, no. 444, see Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Externa Borussica, 30, k. 551.

332 AP Gdańsk, 300/43, no. 196, k. 216.

333 *Die Ratschronik von 1438–1482*, p. 119, n. 1, citing information recorded in the city chronicle of Lübeck.

TABLE 14 The repercussions of Paul Beneke's raid throughout 1473–1474, as recorded in available sources

Source	Date	Origin	Circumstances	Course of events / information recorded	Comparison
Acts, p. 68	1 May 1473	London Mercers' Company Court	The Mercers learned of the attack the night before (30 April)	Hanseatics attacked two Burgundian galleys, capturing one named <i>St Andrew</i>	
Acts, p. 69	2 May 1473	London Mercers' Company	Letter from Southampton	Hanseatics captured one galley after a battle (cannon shots were fired), the other galley reached safety in Southampton	
HR II/7, no. 28 calendar (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/ 21, no. 111)	8 May 1473	Letter from the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Gdańsk	After learning of the raid	The galley was seized by Paul Beneke; the duke of Burgundy lodged a complaint, part of the crew having been in his service	
Acts, p. 69	17 May 1473	Letter from the London Mercers' Company	From a letter from Tommaso Portinari	The galleys had been bought for the duke of Burgundy and were flying his colours	
HR, II/7, no. 29 (=30 May AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 152)	1473	Duke Charles of Burgundy to the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges		Captain "Pauwel Beneken" and other Hanseatics seized a galley (flying the colours of Burgundy) and goods, killing 8–9 of the galley's crew	

Source	Date	Origin	Circumstances	Course of events / information recorded	Comparison
HR, II/7, no. 30	10 July 1473	City council and councillors of Bruges to Lucca		Re. Johan Dati, who had loaded his goods on to a Florentine ship in Zeeland (see below)	They declared their friendship for Florence
HR, II/7, no. 31	12 July 1473, Stade (reply to letter of 10 July)	Paul Beneke to Hamburg	Sale of part of cargo, cheese and cloth; understanding with Lübeck	Beneke knew about the meeting in Utrecht	
HR, II/7, no. 32	15 July 1473	Hamburg to Lübeck	Lübeckers Ludecke Lange and Volmer Musz: 3 terlings of cloth		
HR, II/7, nos. 34–35	13–31 July; 1–19 September 1473	Proceedings of the meeting in Utrecht, including the case of Paul Beneke			
HR, II/7, no. 33.	5 August 1473	Johann Dati, councillor of Lucca, to Lübeck	Having already written to the lord of Veere, Dati now made a petition re. Beneke		
AP Gdańsk, 300 D/19, no. 154	16 September 1473	Council of the duke of Burgundy lodged a complaint re. ship and goods seized from the duke's subjects by Paul Beneke			

TABLE 14 The repercussions of Paul Beneke's raid throughout 1473–1474, as recorded in available sources (*cont.*)

Source	Date	Origin	Circumstances	Course of events / information recorded	Comparison
HR, II/7, no. 134	20 January 1474	Aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> to Lübeck, Hamburg and Gdańsk		Re. complaint from Florentine Tommaso Portinari, agent of the Medici bank in Bruges, about the galley captured by Paul Beneke	4 aldermen (of Lede) will address the case for compensation by 24 June
Callimachi, no. 8	4 June 1474	Letter from Callimachus to Tommaso Portinari	Conversation with Anselmo Adornes, knight and envoy, who told Callimachus of Tommaso Portinari's problems with Gdańsk	Callimachus, not specifying what issue was at stake, promised to help once the plague had abated	
HR, II/7, no. 164	29 January 1474	Duchess of Burgundy		Re. return of galley	The galley's navigator was called Roger Truman
Handelingen van de Leden en van de Statetn van Vlaanderen (1467–1477), no. 134, p. 204 Cf. HR, II/7, p. 198.	February 1474	Four Members of Flanders	The attack was carried out by captain “Pauwels Beeukin”, commanding a caravel: “eenre crevelle ghenaeemt de Lyborne”	Re. recovery and redress for Tommaso Portinari	
HR, II/7, no. 138	February–March 1474	Proceedings of talks with England	Berndt Pawest's report on the raid		

Source	Date	Origin	Circumstances	Course of events / information recorded	Comparison
HR, II/7, no. 171	5 March 1474	Report of 4 deputies from Leiden (in Flanders) to Gdańsk		Details of capture of Burgundian galley, property of "Franchois p. Mathey", by "Pauwels Bennkin", captain of a caravel named <i>Lyborne</i> (!). Most of the cargo, the galley, freight money and equipment (<i>Tauwerk</i>) was not English-owned but belonged to Tommaso Portinari, member of the duke of Burgundy's council, and other Florentines based in Bruges	Repercussions for the caravel and others if the lost goods are not recovered

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

by Peter Oliver Loew,³³⁴ who rightly points out that Theodor Hirsch's work of 1843 (see above) and the publication of *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik* in 1855 were instrumental in generating interest in Beneke and contributing to his rise in popularity. In Gdańsk itself, as noted by Loew, Beneke became the subject of poems and articles in the popular press. By the latter half of the 19th century he had become a German national hero thanks to publications such as *Allgemeine Deutsch Biographie* and Reinhold von Werner's *Der Danziger Seeheld Paul Beneke*. In Gdańsk Beneke inspired paintings, plays and poems singing his praises. During the Nazi period a youth hostel in the Biskupia Górka district of Gdańsk was named after Paul Beneke, who was held up as a shining

334 Peter Oliver Loew, *Gdańsk między mitami, rozdział: Trzy mityczne nazwiska. Paul Beneke powstanie, blask i nagły upadek gdańskiego kapra*, Olsztyn 2006, pp. 72–82. N.B. Loew states that it was not until 1840 that the *Last Judgement* was attributed to Hans Memling.

example of a conqueror of the English.³³⁵ Even one of the city's streets bore his name (present-day ul. Marynarki Polskiej).

Janusz Mosakowski has also drawn attention to Paul Beneke's 19th-century popularity as a literary hero,³³⁶ citing as examples books by Gustav Freytag, Otto Friederich Gruppe, and in particular Ferdinand Sonnenburg and Reinhold von Werener.³³⁷ The last of these authors even dabbled in historical studies, consulting the chronicles of Caspar Weinreich and Lübecker Reimar Kock for the purposes of his story writing.³³⁸

335 Ibidem, pp. 72–82. There is, however, one opinion of Loew's that I cannot agree with, namely that: "Paul Beneke has become one of many perfectly ordinary figures in the history of Gdańsk". The historical figure who emerges from the medieval sources was far from ordinary, which I have tried to demonstrate herein. I also believe that it is simply a matter of time before Paul Beneke makes a return to public consciousness in Gdańsk. It would be a real shame if Loew were to be proved right in asserting that the golden age of Paul Beneke is long gone.

336 Janusz Mosakowski, *Dzieje Gdańska w niemieckiej powieści historycznej XIX wieku*, Pruszczyk Gdański 2009, pp. 87–95 (chapter heading: *Paul Beneke – gdański kapitan i jego słynny tup*).

337 Ibidem, pp. 87–95.

338 Ibidem, p. 231. There were five editions of Sonnenberg's story and three of Werner's (pp. 337–38).

Epilogue

Although the caravel's career came to an end in 1475, during the time she spent plying the seas she came to be regarded as a template for similar ships built in Gdańsk.¹ This subject is in itself worthy of a separate study, but in this book my aim is to highlight the fact that the impact of Paul Beneke's raid in the spring of 1473 continued to reverberate right up until the early 1520s. Let us recall that investigations into the case of the Florentine galley *St Matthew/St Andrew* were suspended because of the war between Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy and René, duke of Lorraine. Following Charles's death on 5 January 1477, his daughter Mary assumed the Burgundian throne, and shortly thereafter married Maximilian of Habsburg, son of Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor.

On 11 February 1477 Duchess Mary (in this instance using the title of countess of Flanders) confirmed a safe conduct for Hanseatics resident in Flanders.² This was part of a raft of broader measures being taken by the Flemish estates (including merchants) to secure greater autonomy, which resulted in Mary being forced to sign the so-called Great Privilege in Ghent.³ On 24 March the merchants of Bruges sent Gdańsk an extension (until 24 June) of the safe conduct that had been granted to Hanseatic merchants by Charles the Bold, at the same time informing the city council of the duke's death. They also made assurances that the letter of reprisal which had been issued several years earlier in response to the raid carried out by the now deceased Paul Beneke would not be used against Gdańsk merchants, and sent the council the aforementioned safe conduct issued by Duchess Mary.⁴

The most salient fact in terms of the story of the caravel is that the defeat and death of Charles the Bold dealt a severe financial blow to the Medici bank, which had lent the duke large sums of money for his war campaigns. The first to collapse were the commercial interests of the Bruges branch, although, as

1 So thought Otto Lienau and, following his lead, Maria Bogucka (*Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 46–47).

2 Copy sent to Gdańsk by the Bruges *Kontor* on 24 March 1477: see HR, III/1, no. 90 and footnote, see also no. 94.

3 Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, Philadelphia 1999, pp. 196–99; see also Jan Balicki and Maria Bogucka, *Historia Holandii*, Ossolineum 1989, p. 65. On that same day the Parliament of Mechelen was abolished and replaced with an itinerant Great Council.

4 HR, III/1, no. 90 (calendar, former ref. no. XXI, 102), cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 122; Joachim Zdrenka, "Beneke Paweł", *SBPN*, 1, pp. 87–88. Paul Beneke is referred to as "saligher dach" (i.e. well-remembered) in a letter of 17 June 1478: see HR, III/1 no. 125, cf. AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 127.

has been noted in the literature, the crisis of this particular branch had already begun with Tommaso Portinari's earlier failed venture involving the loss of the richly laden galley captured by Paul Beneke.⁵ Thus, it is hardly surprising that those who had suffered losses as a result of the raid took further steps to try and gain redress. We do not know whether the injured parties were already aware that the Gdańsk privateer had died, or whether this news was late in reaching them. Whatever the case may have been, two lines of action were taken. It appears that by decision of the *Signoria di Firenze* (the government of Florence made up of nine guild members, the *Priori*) Cristofano Spini, Tommaso Portinari's partner in Bruges, was to negotiate on behalf of the aggrieved Florentine families. It is more than reasonable to imagine that the Medici (Giuliano and Lorenzo) would also have tried to put pressure on Gdańsk through Pope Sixtus IV.

On 19 August 1477 Duchess Mary issued a letter of recommendation for Cristofano Spini, authorising him to conduct negotiations with the Hanse,⁶ thus pre-empting a request sent to her regarding this matter by the *Signoria di Firenze* (more of which later). Meanwhile, on 24 August 1477 Sixtus IV issued a bull concerning those affected by Beneke's raid. The content of the papal bull indicates that Sixtus was unaware that Beneke had died. The names of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, Antonio Martelli, Francesco Sasseti, Francesco Carnesecchi and Francesco Sermattei are mentioned in the bull, though surprisingly that of Tommaso Portinari is not. Essentially, the pope recounted the well-known details of the raid that Beneke (referred to as "Polus Behenk") had carried out with the complicity of men from Bremen (probably a reference to the caravel's crew), Stade (alluding to the port from which the ship had set sail) and Gdańsk. A novelty in relation to earlier-established facts was the claim that the galley and her cargo had been worth around 30,000 gold florins (previously the talk had been of 30,000 Flemish pounds groat). The number of fatalities cited by the pope rose to 13 and there was also fresh news of 100 wounded. Sixtus gave Gdańsk 30 days to provide redress, threatening to impose an interdict if his demand was not met.⁷ However, political turmoil appears to have caused

5 See Raymond de Roover, *The rise and decline of the Medici bank 1397–1494*, Harvard 1963, pp. 346–75, wherein other reasons for the downfall of this branch are put forward (e.g. the damaging effects of the Pazzi conspiracy, briefly referred to below).

6 Alfred von Reumont, *Di alcune relazioni dei Fiorentini colla città di Danzica*, Memoria, Archivio Storico Italiano, Nova Serie, XIII, Part 1, 1861, pp. 40–41.

7 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/41 A/no. 28 (this is a copy of a bull preserved in the Vatican: see Tobias Daniels below), HR, III/1, no. 92; Caspar Weinreich, I, p. 102, footnote. An excerpt from this letter can be found in Otto Meltzing, *Tommaso Portinari und sein Konflikt mit der Hanse*, Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1906, p. 116; Florence Edler de Roover and Raymond de Roover, "À propos

the pope to lose interest in this case not long afterwards. The literature attributes this fact to the conspiracy against the Medici by a rival Florentine family, the Pazzi, which led to a conflict between Florence and the pope.⁸ As a result of the Pazzi conspiracy, on 26 April 1478, during High Mass at the Santa Maria del Fiore cathedral in Florence, Giuliano de' Medici was assassinated, and Lorenzo narrowly survived an attempt on his life. But the citizens of Florence did not support this coup, and the conspirators were promptly defeated. In retaliation, the pope, who had backed the Pazzi (supporting them financially), excommunicated Lorenzo and placed the city of Florence under interdict. This situation was only remedied after Sixtus's death in 1484, under the pontificate of Innocent VIII.⁹

Before any of these events had taken place, on 7 September 1477 the Florentine *Signoria* had sent a letter to Duchess Mary, reminding her of the assault on the two galleys that had been flying the colours of Burgundy, and asking her to support Cristofano Spini's efforts to secure compensation. That same day the *Signoria* wrote a letter to the Four Members of Flanders requesting that they help Cristofano Spini bring about a successful (satisfactory) resolution to the matter.¹⁰

On 8 November 1477 the council of the commune of Florence (*priores libertatis et vexillifer justitiae populi Florentini*)¹¹ informed the city council of Gdańsk

du Jugement dernier de Jean Memlinc", in: *Spółeczeństwo, gospodarka i kultura, Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Warsaw 1974, p. 286. See also: Esch Arnold, in: *Hansekaufleuten in Brügge*, p. 111. N.B. On the subject of this bull see Tobias Daniels, "Popes and Pirates: Vatican Sources Regarding Violence at Sea (12th–15th Centuries)" in: *Merchants, Pirates and Smugglers. Criminalization, Economics, and the Transformation of the Maritime World (1200–1600)*, T. Heebøll-Holm, P. Höhn, and G. Rohmann, Campus Verlag 2019, pp. 94–96. On the circumstances which led to the drafting of the bull see also Tobias Daniels, "Kooperation und Konflikt im hansischen Mittelmeerhandel zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit", in *Hansischer Handel im Strukturwandel vom 15. Zum 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. Rolf Hammel-Kiesow and Stephan Selzer, Porta Alba 2016. I am indebted to the author for providing me with a copy of this text.

8 A general outline can be found in Aby Warburg, *Sztuka flandryjska a wczesny renesans we Florencji*, p. 136.

9 R. de Roover, *The rise*, p. 365; Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *Historia Włoch*, Wrocław 1998, p. 146.

10 The content of both letters is related by von Reumont, op. cit., p. 41. According to von Reumont letters were also written to the king of Poland, the king of Germany and to the city councils of Bremen, Munster, Hamburg, and Gdańsk, though he cites only one letter of 7 September 1477 and mentions the papal bull issued by Sixtus IV.

11 This term appears in a letter written in Latin. In the 13th century a system of popular rule (*il primo popolo*) was established in Florence, based on the military organisation of its population, divided into 20 companies, each attached to a district of the city. Each company was led by a standard-bearer (*gonfaloniere*), all of whom were under the collective

that Florentine citizen, nobleman and merchant Cristofano Spini had been sent to Gdańsk to seek justice regarding the goods that had been stolen from Florentine merchants.¹² There is, however, plenty of evidence to suggest that Cristofano Spini had no intention of travelling to Gdańsk. On 18 March 1478, whilst staying in Utrecht he wrote to the Gdańsk city council to say that he was investigating the case of goods appropriated by citizens of Gdańsk, doubtless referring to the captured galley. It was only at that point that he forwarded the letter of 8 November from the council of the commune of Florence to Gdańsk's authorities, asking for a reply, which he stated he would await in either Bruges or Trier.¹³ He also sent an identical letter to the city council of Hamburg.¹⁴

In another move, Cristofano Spini turned to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Włocławek, requesting the bishop's support for his efforts to obtain compensation for the seized goods. On 4 May 1478 Oleśnicki informed Gdańsk of this approach and of his own plans to petition King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk for letters to the pope and to the Italian merchants. He advised the city council to take advantage of a meeting with the king's envoys in Toruń to entreat the king for similar letters.¹⁵

On 1 June 1478 a Hanseatic assembly took place in Lübeck attended by representatives of Hamburg, Rostock, Wismar and, naturally, the host city. One of the last subjects discussed at this meeting was that of the galley,¹⁶ though no new facts came to light nor was any resolution reached. On 17 June 1478 the aggrieved parties gained the backing of the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, who wrote to Gdańsk about the steps Cristofano Spini was taking, but noting that neither secular nor ecclesiastical authorities were willing to help him, and that there was no sign of any involvement from the rulers of Burgundy and Austria. They also stressed that the Four Members of Flanders did not want to allow Spini's actions to affect their commercial interests with the Hanseatic League.¹⁷

command of a "captain of the people" (*capitano del popolo*), who was assisted by a council of 12 elders: see Gierowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–97.

12 HR, III/1, no. 93; Eugen Remus, "Die Hanse und das Kantor zu Brügge am Ende des xv. Jahrhunderts", *ZWG*, 30, 1892, p. 9.

13 HR, III/1, no. 95 (Reg. 300 D/17 D/2); Remus, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

14 HR, III/1, no. 96, the city council of Hamburg sent it on to Lübeck on 19 March, followed on 9 April by a copy of the letter from Florence (which may have been addressed to Hanseatic towns in general) and a letter from the Emperor Maximilian (possibly a copy) to Lübeck: HR, III/1, no. 98.

15 HR, III/1, no. 96.

16 HR, III/1, no. 104, para. 21.

17 HR, III/1, no. 125.

After these renewed attempts to seek redress for the galley nothing more was heard of the matter until 1492. The reasons for this are apparent in the aforementioned letter from the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*: after the Peace of Utrecht nobody (especially Flanders) wanted to damage their trade relations with the cities of the Hanse.

It seems that there were also several other factors that prevented any further pursuit of compensation during 1479–1492. There is no doubt that the death of the man who had launched the raid, Paul Beneke, did little to assist investigations into the case. In addition, one of the party seeking to recover his losses, Tommaso Portinari, relocated in April 1478 from Bruges to Milan.¹⁸ During 1480–1487 Maximilian I of Habsburg granted Portinari a lease on the right to farm the toll at Gravelines. In 1490 Tommaso Portinari and Cristofano Spini took part in negotiations between Florence and England, which culminated in the signing of a mutual trade agreement.¹⁹

More importantly, the Burgundian authorities' lack of interest in supporting the push for compensation was undoubtedly fuelled by the state of affairs within the duchy after the 25-year-old Duchess Mary²⁰ was badly injured falling from her horse while out hunting in early March 1482. The duchess died as a result of severe complications on 27 March 1482 in Bruges, and was buried there. Her husband, Maximilian I of Habsburg, then became embroiled in a war with France over the Burgundian inheritance, which finally came to an end with the Treaty of Senlis in 1493. That very same year Maximilian assumed the title of Holy Roman Emperor following the death of his father, Frederick III, and reigned until 1519, his son Philip the Fair taking over the rule of the Netherlands in 1494.²¹ The political situation also had an impact on relations with the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges, with the office of the aldermen even being temporarily moved to Antwerp.²² Thus, for over a decade, while the war of succession played out, there was little chance of addressing the issue of the galley. This period also saw the deaths of two individuals who may have been

18 R. de Roover, *The rise*, p. 350.

19 Warburg, *Sztuka flandryjska a wczesny renesans we Florencji*, pp. 143–44; R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 355–56.

20 Mary had three children: Philip the Fair (22 July 1478–25 September 1506), Margaret of Austria (10 January 1480–1 December 1530) and Francis (2 September–26 December 1481).

21 Balicki and Bogucka, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71, Philip the Fair died in 1506, at which point his father Maximilian of Habsburg reassumed the regency on behalf of his six-year old grandson, Charles, remaining in this role until 1515. In reality it was his daughter Margaret (Philip's sister) who acted as regent for Charles, and continued to do so until 1530.

22 Philip Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy*, p. 282. Tensions were also rising between Bruges and the Hanse over the *Schoss* (tax).

keen to pursue compensation claims for their lost goods, namely Francesco Sassetti (d. 1490) and Lorenzo de' Medici (d. 8 April 1492).²³

A number of others who had been involved in the case also died around this time. They included members of Gdańsk's council and judicial bench who still remembered the exploits of the caravel. Johann Feere,²⁴ mayor of Gdańsk, who had from the very beginning been a key figure in the story of the caravel, died on 29 June 1478. The ship's first Gdańsk commander, councillor Berndt Pawest,²⁵ passed away in 1488, followed in January 1492 by Tiedemann Valandt, one of the caravel's co-owners.²⁶ Those still living among the Gdańsk contingent included Johann Sidinghusen, who had made investigations in Hamburg after the raid and who was still a member of the city council (d. 29 September 1510),²⁷ and Heinrich Niederhof (d. 1499).

The dispute over compensation resurfaced in 1492, when Tommaso Portinari, still very much alive, made yet another complaint, this time to Maximilian I of Habsburg and his son Philip. On 20 June 1492, the two Habsburgs, sojourning in Mechelen, wrote to the authorities of Bruges, Amsterdam and Middelburg, recalling the story of the lost galley, and transuming the mandate (threatening sanctions against the Hanse) issued by Charles the Bold on 30 May 1473. The letter contained a summary of the facts regarding the raid carried out by Paul Beneke, who had been oblivious to the fact that the duke of Burgundy's coat of arms and flag (*Banne*) had been displayed aboard the galley. There was, however, a new piece of information about Beneke having torn down these emblems (the coat of arms and flag). Mention was also made of the diplomatic missions sparked by this case, including the efforts of Lambert van der Ee. The losses were estimated at 56,000 gold florins.²⁸

Initially a date was set for the case to be heard (yet again) on 14 September 1492, when the Hanseatics were expected to appear for questioning before the Great Council of Mechelen. However, they protested against having been given such short notice,²⁹ and the hearing was rescheduled for 14 May 1493.³⁰ Ultimately, even this was called off, and although we do not know why, it is

23 Lorenzo's death precipitated the fall of the Medici bank in 1494 (R. de Roover, *The rise*).

24 Zdrenka, *Urządnicy*, Biogramy, pp. 61–62.

25 Ibidem, p. 233.

26 Ibidem, p. 354.

27 Ibidem, p. 323.

28 HR, III/3, no. 173, see also no. 174 wherein mention is made of Tommaso Portinari's endeavours to secure assistance. Cf. also Meltzing, op. cit., pp. 118–19.

29 HR, III/3, nos. 174–178 (autumn of 1492); cf. Meltzing, op. cit., p. 109; cf. E. Remus, op. cit., p. 24.

30 HR, III/3, no. 181 (23 February 1493), cf. Remus, op. cit., p. 25.

reasonable to assume that one of the problems may well have been that there were no longer any living witnesses to the events in question.³¹

On 20 November 1492 the city council of Gdańsk made approaches to the Great Council of Mechelen, as well as the Four Members of Flanders, and to Holland, about the measures that had been taken concerning the galley seized from Tommaso Portinari. Gdańsk explained that none of the city's merchants could recall the details of this case from many years ago, other than the fact that the galley had been captured by the Gdańsk caravel (*Caravell*), which had been outfitted by the city and commanded by Paul Beneke. The same old arguments were used to defend Beneke's actions: he had attacked the galley because she had been bound for England, with whom the Hanse had been at war at the time, knowing that any form of cooperation with the English would have been regarded as contrary to Hanseatic interests.³² This was deemed a perfectly satisfactory explanation in Gdańsk.

Thus, Gdańsk's city council made every effort to postpone Portinari's litigation or indeed thwart it altogether,³³ using the excuse of failing collective memory and a lack of new evidence relevant to the incident, which had in any case taken place at a time of war (1473). Drawing on information from the past, the council admitted that the city had armed and dispatched the caravel under the command of Paul Beneke, carrying a letter of marque, to disrupt enemy English shipping.³⁴ Gdańsk's councillors believed that any potential liability in the "case of the galley" was held not only by their city but also by Lübeck and the entire Hanseatic League.³⁵

31 HR, III/3, no. 185, letter of 8 May 1493 from the aldermen of the Antwerp *Kontor* to Gdańsk, rescheduling to 14 June 1493.

32 HR, III/3, no. 176, 20 November 1492, but also no. 182, Gdańsk to Philip the Fair and the Great Council of Mechelen, 30 March 1493, and no. 183, Gdańsk to the aldermen in Antwerp, 30 March 1493.

33 This is indicated by a series of letters: HR III/3, no. 173; no. 175, 28 September 1492, the aldermen of the Antwerp *Kontor* to Gdańsk; no. 176, 20 November 1492, Gdańsk to Mechelen, Flanders and the towns of Holland; no. 177, to the Antwerp *Kontor*; no. 178 to Lübeck; no. 179, 9 February 1493, reply from Antwerp; no. 180, 12 February 1493, towns of the Burgundian Netherlands to Gdańsk; no. 181, 23 February 1493, the aldermen of the Antwerp *Kontor* to Gdańsk; nos. 182 and 183, 30 March 1493, Gdańsk to the duke of Saxony and the Great Council of Mechelen and to the aldermen of the Antwerp *Kontor*; no. 184, 1 April, to Lübeck; no. 185, 8 May 1493, merchants of the Antwerp *Kontor* to Gdańsk; no. 186, 7 June 1493, reply from Gdańsk to the *Kontor*; no. 187, 14 June 1493, copy of a letter from Hanseatic merchants re. Tommaso Portinari's complaint.

34 As asserted in HR, III/3 no. 176, in an annotation to no. 181; no. 182 refers to letters of marque no. 187, p. 7.

35 HR, III/3, no. 177.

In the late summer of 1493 Thierry Proudeguin, *Huissier d'Armes*, conducted negotiations with Hanseatic merchants in Bruges, though nothing is known of the circumstances. A preliminary agreement was reached that Tommaso Portinari would be paid 55,244 gold florins in compensation for the ship and goods and a further 9445 florins for other losses.³⁶ Despite this, the whole case was repeatedly postponed over the years.³⁷ In the autumn of 1493 Gdańsk (exactly who is not specified, but it was probably the city council) asserted that it could pay Tommaso Portinari no more than 5000 gold florins in compensation.³⁸

By the beginning of 1496 Tommaso Portinari had still not received any recompense.³⁹ On 19 March 1496, and again on 28 September 1496, he authorised his nephews Fulco and Benedict (his brother Pigello's sons) to deal with the case and ceded them his rights to compensation,⁴⁰ thus probably settling some form of family financial affairs.

On 5 August 1496 Philip, duke of Austria and Burgundy, took further steps to try and secure redress for Tommaso Portinari, explaining his lack of earlier action by his involvement in the war (of succession). In a document bearing that date the duke confirmed that Tommaso Portinari had incurred losses in April 1473 because of Paul Beneke, who, as commander of a caravel dispatched by Gdańsk, had attacked a Burgundian galley displaying the coat of arms of Charles the Bold. Eight to ten men had been killed in the course of the boarding action.⁴¹ The 1496 document included a second list estimating Tommaso Portinari's losses (the first one having been compiled in 1473).⁴² There was also a summary of the measures that had been taken, such as the embassy sent to Paul Beneke by Charles the Bold and his subsequent letter of 30 May 1473. The

36 HR, III/3, no. 174 and p. 505.

37 Cf. copy re. complaint HR, III/3, no. 187, HR, III/3, no. 302: letter of 8 January 1494 from the merchants of the Bruges *Kontor* to Gdańsk; see also no. 322: letter of 9 March 1498 from Gdańsk, and nos. 326, 327 and 329; cf. Meltzing, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–20.

38 HR, III/3, no. 188.

39 On 4 April 1495 Bruges (Hanseatic merchants) had written to Lübeck stating that an agreement was in the offing, Gdańsk having changed its mind about paying out compensation, though this was more likely wishful thinking: 4 April 1495, Bruges (*Kontor*) to Lübeck, HR, III/3, no. 552. Gdańsk used the plague as an excuse (1496!), but also mentioned that the Portinari case was the joint responsibility of the Hanse (not just Gdańsk), HR, III/3, no. 559; similarly, a letter of the same date (9 July 1496) to Bruges, included a reminder that the caravel had been armed at the request of the Hanseatic League (for further details see Table 15)

40 HR, III/4, no. 55; *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, Section Première, Inventaire des Chartes, par L. Gilliodts-van Severn, 6, Bruges 1876, nos. 1264 and 1265; Armand Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, Brussels 1931, p. XXXIX.

41 HR, III/3, no. 676.

42 HR, III/3, no. 676.

duke's letters of 20 June 1492⁴³ and 14 June 1493,⁴⁴ and a decision (no details known) of 14 April 1493 were also mentioned. Philip demanded that the case be resolved.⁴⁵ However, the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Antwerp did what they could to shelve the dispute, managing to postpone the case until 1 March 1497 and then until September 1498.⁴⁶

On 17 January 1498 Johann Bertin drafted a notarial instrument on behalf of the brothers Fulco and Benedict Portinari and the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor*, citing the aforesaid documents (acts) of 19 March 1496 and 28 September 1496 issued by Tommaso Portinari. The compensation was to be paid exclusively to these two men and not to any other of Tommaso's heirs. A protest was threatened if the Hanse refused to acknowledge this document.⁴⁷

On 18 December 1498 Lübeck wrote to Gdańsk, among other things about the proceedings involving Portinari, which had dragged on for yet another year.⁴⁸ On 26 December 1498 Duke Philip expressed the hope that Tommaso's case would be resolved. The order to pay damages was expected to be enforced no later than 11 November 1499.⁴⁹ Meanwhile the news from Bruges was that the date for settling this case had been extended to 1 September 1499.⁵⁰ On 19 April 1499 Gdańsk confirmed that it would attend a meeting with the English in Bruges and that it was willing to address the Portinari case.⁵¹

43 See Table 15, no. 173.

44 See Table 15, no. 187.

45 HR, III/3, no. 676. See also nos. 677 and 478, and also *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, Section Première, Inventaire des Chartes, par L. Gilliodts-van Severn, 6, Bruges 1876, nos. 1261 and 1262. Cf. Remus, op. cit., p. 26.

46 HR, III/3, no. 677 (letter from the merchants of Bruges to Lübeck), no. 740 (letter of 19 May 1497 from Lübeck to the merchants of Bruges), see also nos. 738, 739 and 741.

47 HR, III/4, no. 55. On the dispute in general see no. 72, letter of 7 September 1497 from Lübeck to the cities of the Hanse, and no. 73, letter of 16 March 1498 from Cologne to Lübeck; see also no. 79, paras. 28 and 29, 28 May 1498, proceedings of the assembly in Lübeck; no. 80, point 2, instructions of May 1498 for Gdańsk envoys; no. 88, 13 September 1498, Wendish towns to Gdańsk re. the Tommaso Portinari case; no. 90, 3 October 1498, merchants of Bruges to Lübeck; no. 92, 6 October 1498, Cologne to Lübeck; no. 93, 8 October 1498, Cologne to Wesel, re. (among other things) the verdict in the Portinari case; no. 95, 20 October 1498, Wendish towns to Gdańsk; no. 103, 10 December 1498, merchants of Bruges to Lübeck. The evidence from these documents suggests that the reason behind the failure to resolve the whole situation was that the cities of the Hanse refused to accept joint liability (with Gdańsk) for compensation. See no. 172 and no. 173, para. 16.

48 HR, III/ 4, no. 104.

49 HR, III/ 4, no. 105.

50 HR, III/4, no. 106, letter of 8 January 1499 from Bruges (the Hanse) to Lübeck, see also no. 132, Lübeck to Hamburg on the same subject.

51 HR, III/4, no. 138.

In the summer of 1499, during the meeting with the Hanse in Bruges, it was agreed that a sum of 46,000 crowns would be paid in compensation to Tommaso and his heirs.⁵² A recap was given of the whole raid, though no mention was made of Paul Beneke, but only of the attack and its victims.⁵³ On 26 August 1499 Dr Albert Krantz, representing the interests of Duke Philip and those of Fulco and Benedetto Portinari, met with the mayor and municipal authorities of Bruges, the Four Members of Flanders and representatives of Gdańsk. They re-examined the long-running affair, highlighting the difficulties that Tommaso Portinari had encountered in settling his accounts with English merchants for goods aboard the captured galley.⁵⁴ Finally, on 5 October 1499 the merchants and municipal authorities of Bruges decided to shoulder the burden of paying compensation to the Portinari family.⁵⁵ They undertook to pay Fulco Portinari and his brother over 40,000 Flemish pounds groat in exchange for the Hanse agreeing to recognise the Bruges staple right (reference being made to an agreement of 13 September 1487)⁵⁶ and to an excise being levied on Rhenish wines in Bruges. A deadline of 4 November was set for signing this agreement with the Hanse, and Bruges' authorities pledged not to serve Fulco Portinari any procedural documents before that date.⁵⁷ On 20 October 1499 Duke Philip informed Bruges of the terms on which Fulco Portinari would agree to this deal. To begin with Bruges was to pay him 16,000 Flemish pounds groat in cash within six weeks. The rest of the sum was to be paid in annual instalments of 2000 pounds.⁵⁸

The Hanse and Fulco Portinari agreed to Bruges' proposals and the agreement was signed on 4 November 1499.⁵⁹ On 5 November the city authorities of

52 HR, III/4, no. 150, p. 203, n. 2; also no. 150, para. 114 – verdict, para. 122; no. 151 (“reces sus tractaus in causa sententia, ad instatntiam, cujusdam Thome Portianri et quorum pre-textu per Paulum Beneken capte gale de per altum Consiliom in Mechelinia adversum negotiatorem Almanice Hansze Bruggis in Vlandria rewidentem utrimque late”).

53 HR, III/4, no. 150, para. 105.

54 HR, III/4, no. 151, para. 63; see also exchange of views (among other things, about the caravel), paras. 83–84, 85. New pieces of information come to light in this document about Paul Beneke having apparently called at the Zwin with the caravel (after the raid) and about Lübeck, Hamburg and Bruges having shown an interest in her. This represents a confused amalgamation of several facts from the period when the caravel had been commanded by Berndt Pawest, and had indeed called at the Zwin, with later events, when her owners held a meeting in Hamburg with the city authorities of Lübeck. See also pp. 137–38, 141–42, 160; Remus, op. cit.

55 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 199, extract.

56 *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple De Bruges*, par L. Gilliodts-van Severen, 2, Bruges 1905.

57 AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 199, extract.

58 HR, III/4, no. 171; HR, III/4, no. 159, n. 2.

59 HR, III/4, no. 157.

Bruges issued a document confirming that Tommaso Portinari would not be lodging any further claims against the Hanse.⁶⁰ This marked the end of Tommaso Portinari's 26-year dispute with Gdańsk and other Hanseatic towns, which had been precipitated by the Gdańsk privateer Paul Beneke's exploits in the spring of 1473 as commander of the great caravel originally known as *Pierre de la Rochelle* and subsequently renamed *Peter von Danzig*. On 15 February 1501, barely 14 months after the case had been resolved, Tommaso Portinari died in Florence at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.⁶¹ The compensation payments continued to be made until 1513 (see Table 16). Before taking a closer look at the details of these payments, I have provided a summary of the repercussions of Paul Beneke's raid during 1477–1500, as recorded in Hanseatic sources (Table 15).

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information ^a / other
24 March 1477	HR, III/1, nos. 90 and 91	Merchants of Bruges to Gdańsk		Re. the safe conduct issued by Duchess Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold
24 August 1477	HR, III/1, no. 92	Pope Sixtus IV to Gdańsk	A request for reparation to be made within 30 days of receiving the bull, otherwise the city will be placed under interdict	New details – 13 killed and 100 injured as a result of Paul Beneke's raid; the goods and galley were worth 30,000

60 HR, III/4, no. 158, printed in: *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, Section Premiere, Inventaire des Chartes, par L. Gilliodts-van Severn, 6, Bruges 1876, no. 1315.

61 Warburg, *Sztuka flandryjska a wczesny renesans we Florencji*, pp. 143–44; Meltzing, *Tommaso*, p. 120; R. de Roover, *The Rise*, p. 357 (based on Grunzweig, *Correspondance*, pp. xxxi ff., wherein we read that Tommaso Portinari left a will in which he divided his property among his ten children).

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
8 November 1477	HR, III/1, no. 93	Florence	Florentine Cristofer Spini (<i>nobilem cives et mercratorum rostrum</i>) was being sent to Gdańsk to seek redress (return of goods)	Cristofer Spini demanded the return of seized goods (the galley)
16 March 1478 or 1477	HR, III/1, no. 94	Hamburg to Lübeck	Steps taken in the case of the galley seized by Paul Beneke	
18 March 1478	HR, III/1, no. 95	Cristofer Spini writing to Gdańsk from Utrecht		Spini was awaiting a reply re. compensation
4 May 1478	HR, III/1, no. 96	Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Włocławek	Cristofer Spini's mission	
12 February 1492	AP Gdańsk, 300 D/20, no. 269	Representatives of the Dutch towns of Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam and Ghent, writing to Gdańsk from The Hague	Assurances that they are keen to maintain trade relations and that they attach no importance to Tommaso Portinari's demands towards Gdańsk	

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
20 June 1492	HR, III/3, no. 173	Maximilian, king of the Romans, and Philip, duke of Burgundy, to the governors of Bruges, Amsterdam and Middelburg	A reminder of the attack on the galley	Losses estimated at 56,000 gold florins; reference to Paul Beneke hauling down the Burgundian flag and coat of arms on the galley
28 August–14 September 1492	HR, III/3, no. 174	Thierry Proudeguin, <i>Huissier d'Armes</i> , to Maximilian's council and his son Philip	Attempts to secure compensation made by Tommaso Portinari in Antwerp	See below: no. 676, which reveals that compensation had been set at 55,244 gold florins for the ship and goods, and 9445 florins for other losses, and that a preliminary agreement had been concluded on 14 April 1493
28 September 1492	HR, III/3, no. 175	Merchants (Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i>) of Antwerp to Gdańsk	Steps taken by Tommaso Portinari; brief recap of Paul Beneke's raid and demands made during the reign of Charles the Bold	A longer period is requested to consider Tommaso Portinari's claims ^b

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
20 November 1492	HR, III/3, no. 176	Gdańsk to the Council of Mechelen, the Four Members of Flanders and other Dutch towns	Reminder of the circumstances in which Paul Beneke attacked the galley	
20 November 1492	HR, III/3, no. 177	Gdańsk to Hanseatic merchants in Antwerp	Letter (no. 175) was not received until 17 November; the entire Hanse (Lübeck in particular) had been involved in the case of the galley	
20 November 1492	HR, III/3, no. 178	Gdańsk to Lübeck	Notification of letter no. 175	
9 February 1493	HR, III/3, no. 179	Hanseatic merchants of Antwerp to Gdańsk	Reference is made to waiting for letters regarding the Portinari case	
12 February 1493	HR, III/3, no. 180	Deputies from Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda writing from The Hague to Gdańsk	Reference is made to the Portinari case	

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
23 February 1493	HR, III/3, no. 181	Hanseatic merchants of Antwerp to Gdańsk	Rescheduling of arbitration (for a second time) to 14 May	Annotation re. Beneke's actions
30 March 1493	HR III/3, no. 182	Gdańsk to the duke of Saxony and the Council of Mechelen	The caravel and Paul Beneke	
30 March 1493	HR, III/3, no. 183	Gdańsk to the aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Antwerp	The caravel and Paul Beneke	
1 April 1493	HR, III/3, no. 184	Gdańsk to Lübeck	The case of the galley	
8 May 1493	HR, III/3, no. 185	Aldermen of the <i>Kontor</i> in Antwerp to Gdańsk	Receipt of letter from Gdańsk about (among other things) the Portinari case	
7 June 1493	HR, III/3, no. 186	Gdańsk to the aldermen of the <i>Kontor</i> in Antwerp	The case of the galley	
14 June 1493	HR, III/3, no. 187	Hanseatic response to Portinari's complaints	Findings of the judgement	
21 June 1493	HR, III/3, no. 301	Gdańsk to Philip, ruler of Burgundy (replying to his letter of 2 May 1493), about extending the peace to two years; reminder		

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
		that 38 ships were seized by Burgundian subjects (from Holland and Zeeland) in 1438		
12 September 1493	HR, III/3, no. 188 (AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 180)	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Gdańsk	Rescheduling of the decision in the Portinari case to June 1494. Gdańsk was to offer Portinari compensation of 5000 gold florins	
8 January 1494	HR, III/3, no. 302	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Gdańsk	Preparation of documents, lawyers and witnesses; measures taken by the duke of Burgundy	
4 April 1495	HR, III/3, no. 552	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Lübeck	Report, amongst other things, on Gdańsk's refusal to alter the substance of letters to Duke Albrecht and to the Great Council of Burgundy,	The fact that the case of the galley has lasted over 24 years is mentioned

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
			and the city's rejection of a favourable agreement with Tommaso Portinari	
9 July 1495	HR, III/3, no. 558	Gdańsk to the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges	Reminder that the ship commanded by Paul Beneke was armed at the request of other Hanseatic towns	
9 July 1495	HR, III/3, no. 559	Gdańsk to Lübeck	Reference is made to letters pertaining to the Portinari case	
5 August 1496	HR, III/3, no. 676	Duke Philip issues a document confirming (and enumerating) the losses suffered by Tommaso Portinari in April 1473	Statement that the galley was attacked despite not having been involved in the Anglo-Hanseatic war; Paul Beneke effected the attack from a ship armed by Gdańsk; 8–10 people were killed; compensation should be paid “de quarante mil escud de 48 gros monnie de nostredot pays”;	Duke Charles was handling the case with the help of the late Georg Baert's secretary, demanding compensation from the Hanse. Meanwhile Adrian Walkin was demanding restitution from Paul Beneke. Charles sent his secretary Lambert van der Ee to Hamburg, where he learned that the ship commanded

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
			the amount of compensation was discussed on 13 August 1496; a sum of 40,000 pounds at 48 groats was agreed with Portinari on 16 August	by Paul Beneke had been armed by the Hanse. The letter of reprisal of 30 May 1473 is brought up (for the first time mentioning Jacques du Prier). The issue was not resolved due to the war. Mention is made of the steps taken in 1492 and of letters no. 173 and 174 setting the amount of compensation at 55,244 for the ship and goods, and 9445 for other losses. Reminder of the provisions stipulated in no. 187
7 September 1496	HR, III/3, no. 677	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Lübeck	Extension of the deadline for settling the Portinari case to 1 March 1497	
17 September 1496		HR, III/3, no. 678 see also nos. 740, 741	Mathias Meerschaerdt, notary of	Agreement reached between Thomas and

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
			Bruges, confirms the agreement	Folco Portinari, Florentine merchants, and the bench and council of Hanseatic merchants in Bruges (Tidemann Remelincrade, Johann Stolle, Dietrich Baesdau) and their secretary Gerhard Bruns, on behalf of the German Hanse about extending the deadline for payment of damages to 1 June 1497
27 November 1497	HR, III/4, no. 159	Fulco and Bendict Portinari, acting on the authority of Tommaso Portinari, forward all of their claims re. the galley to Bruges		
28 June 1497	HR, III/4, no. 25	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Cologne	Amongst other things, about the decision in the Portinari case	HR, III/4, no. 54 – Cologne's reply about Lübeck and Portinari, July 1497

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
7 September 1497	HR, III/4, no. 72	Lübeck to Soest and other Hanseatic towns	Complications caused by the dispute with Tommaso Portinari; brief reminder that the raid was carried out by Paul Beneke and about the decision of Philip, duke of Burgundy	
17 January 1498	HR, III/4, no. 55	Notarial instrument issued by Johann Bertin	Fulco Portinari, on behalf of himself and his brother Benedicto, and in the presence of witnesses (Florentine merchants), certified for the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> two documents issued by his uncle Tommaso Portinari on 19 March 1496 and 28 September 1496, which transferred Tommaso's	Documents of 19 March and 28 September 1496 mentioned in Gilliodts-van Severen (ed.) <i>Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges</i> , 6, nos. 1264, 1265

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
			rights to compensation to his two nephews; however, the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> claimed that the entire Hanse had to agree to pay these damages. See 173, para. 16	
9 March 1498	HR, III/4, no. 322	Gdańsk to the duke of Burgundy	Extension of the truce (peace) and issues concerning Portinari	Copies also sent to Amsterdam
16 March 1498	HR, III/4, no. 73	Cologne to Lübeck	Cologne points out that it is not responsible for the losses incurred by Tommaso Portinari, the blame lying with Paul Beneke	
20 April 1498	HR, III/4, no. 326	Amsterdam to Gdańsk in reply to a letter of 9 March 1498	Includes a defence of Gdańsk over the Portinari case	Gdańsk's reply: 25 May 1498 (HR, III/4, no. 327)
May 1498	HR, III/4, no. 80, para. 2	Instructions from the city council of Gdańsk to its deputies Johann	The deputies are instructed to be vigilant regarding the costs involved in the Portinari case	

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
28 May 1498	HR, III/4, no. 79, para. 28–29; 37, 66	Ferber and Lucas Ketting for the Hanseatic assembly (in Bremen) Hanseatic assembly in Bremen	The longstanding case of the galley: “Pawell Beneken van Dantzick im Engelschen orlage Thomase Portinari van Florentz angehalet unde genamen”	Reminder of the decision of 5 August 1496 and of the need to resolve this case, which began 24 years ago (probably counting from 1496)
16 June 1498	HR, III/4, no. 328	Amsterdam forwards a letter to Gdańsk from Philip, duke of Burgundy		
13 September 1498	HR, III/4, no. 88	The Wendish towns to Gdańsk	Failure to understand the way in which the dispute with Tommaso Portinari is being handled	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Lübeck re. (among other things) the letter of 13 September 1498: see HR, III/4, no. 90, reference to HR, III/3, no. 741

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
6 October 1498	HR, III/4, no. 92	Cologne to Lübeck	Mention of the Portinari case: Cologne has nothing to add; the interested parties should settle the dispute in accordance with the law as soon as possible	Similarly no. 93 to Wesel, 8 October 1498
18 October 1498	HR, III/4, no. 94	Kampen, Derenter and Zwolle to Lübeck	Comments about the recent assembly with special regard to the Portinari case	
20 October 1498	HR, III/4, no. 95	The Wendish towns to Gdańsk	Gdańsk's reply re. the Portinari case was not very clear	
6 November 1498	HR, III/4, no. 97	The Wendish towns to the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i>	Mention of the Portinari case	
29 November 1498	HR, III/4, no. 329	Gdańsk to Duke Philip	Mention of the verdict in the Portinari case	
30 November 1498	HR, III/4, no. 102	Cologne to the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> (temporarily in Bergen)	Cologne pleads for understanding of its position on the Portinari case; Cologne is now dependent on Emperor Maximilian	

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
10 December 1498	HR, III/4, no. 103	Aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> to Lübeck	The need to enforce the ruling in the Portinari case	
18 December 1498	HR, III/4, no. 104	Lübeck to Gdańsk	Mention of the position of the aldermen of the Bruges <i>Kontor</i> , and of the fact that the ruling in the Portinari case might not be enforced for another year	
26 December 1498	HR, III/4, no. 105	Philip, duke of Burgundy, to the merchants of the Hanse	The duke expresses the hope that the Hanse will find a way of resolving the dispute with Tommaso Portinari and that the mandate will be executed (by Gdańsk) by 1 September 1499	
31 December 1498	HR, III/4, no. 106	Mayor, aldermen and council of Bergen	Meeting that day with the aldermen of the German Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges	

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
8 January 1499	HR, III/4, no. 107	Bruges <i>Kontor</i> to Lübeck	and the resolution that all towns involved in the dispute with Tommaso Portinari should work towards appeasement Rescheduling enforcement of the ruling in the Portinari case to 1 September 1499; also mention of the assembly planned for June	
25 March 1499	HR, III/4, no. 132	Lübeck to Hamburg	The planned assembly in Bruges and the need to resolve the Portinari case	
19 April 1499	HR, III/4, no. 136	Authorisation from Gdańsk for councillors Mattias Zimmermann and Johann Huxer and secretary Johann Wolter to attend a meeting in Bruges		

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
19 April 1499	HR, III/4, no. 137	Gdańsk confirms the above embassy to Bruges	Gdańsk authorises its deputies to negotiate with Duke Philip's representatives and conclude an agreement with Tommaso Portinari	
30 April 1499	HR, III/4, no. 160	Instructions for Gdańsk's envoys to the Bruges assembly (Mattias Zimmerman and Johann Huxer)	Points 8 and 9 concerned Tommaso Portinari and the need to resolve his case	
21 May 1499	HR, III/4, no. 184	Gdańsk councillors writing from Hamburg to Gdańsk	Negotiations re. (among other things) Tommaso Portinari	
27 June 1499; 16 August	HR, III/4, nos. 192, 194	Gdańsk councillors writing from Bruges	Re. (among other things) preparations for the verdict in the Portinari case. This is also mentioned in letters from the Cologne envoys:	

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
			see no. 201 (July 1499), no. 203 (26 August), no. 205 (6 September)	
19 July (?) 1499	HR, III/4, no. 150, n. 2	Pursuant to the resolution / agreement with the Hanse, Fulco Portinari was to receive 46,000 crowns in compensation (for Tommaso's losses) from the Hanse		
27 July 1499	HR, III/4, no. 151	Proceedings of the Hanseatic assembly in Bruges (Gdańsk version)	The proceedings relate to the Tommaso Portinari case and the galley looted by Paul Beneke; Dr Albertus Krantz was among those who handled the case	Para. 25: reminder that the raid was carried out by Paul Beneke of Gdańsk aboard a caravel (<i>dat kafel</i>); para. 63: <i>over ensodant Thomas Portinari Englesche gudere in syn schipp heft genhamen und, alsz men sech, desulvigen sullle assoret hebben, ensodant de schipper, de ennahm</i>

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
				<i>vornemende, byem, in de ze his gekamen und van em heft bogert, dat he em sodan Englesche gudere, alsz he inne hadde</i>
August 1499	HR, III/4, no. 150, par. 105	Assembly in Bruges: the Portinari case	Reminder of letter sent by Charles the Bold, late duke of Burgundy	
5 October 1499	AP Gdańsk, 300 D/21, no. 199	The city council of Bruges undertook to settle with Tommaso Portinari (pay him damages)	In recompense for settling this debt, Bruges demanded recognition of its staple right (further to an agreement of 1487) and the levying of excise on Rhenish wines for two years	
20 October 1499	HR, III/4, no. 171	Duke Philip to Bruges	Re. needing to reach an agreement: payment of 16,000 pounds at 40 groats,	

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
27 October 1499	HR, III/4, no. 150, paras. 114, 122	Assembly in Bruges	4000 in cash within 6 weeks and the rest in annual instalments of 2000 pounds Confirmation of the verdict in the Tommaso Portinari case	
19–20 October 1499	HR, III/4, no. 151, par. 80 in.	Assembly in Bruges	Issues with Fulco and Benedetto Portinari	
20 October 1499	HR, III/4, no. 171	Duke Philip to Bruges	Re. agreement that Bruges will pay 16,000 pounds groat (at 40 groats per pound) as follows: 4000 in cash within 6 weeks of receiving the contract, and the rest in annual instalments of 2000 pounds groat	As noted by de Roover, despite not having been involved in the conflict, in order to maintain good relations with the Hanse, the city of Bruges undertook to pay this sum to Portinari's nephews on condition that they renounce all rights arising from the decision of 1496 ^c
4 November 1499	HR, III/4, no. 157	Agreement between the Hanse and Bruges re.		

TABLE 15 Summary of sources providing information about the aftermath of Paul Beneke's raid (1477–1499) (*cont.*)

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
				customs and excise on wine; agreeing favourable settlement terms for Tommaso Portinari
Shortly after 4 November 1499	HR, III/4, no. 173	List of documents re. the Portinari case		
5 November 1499	HR, III/4, no. 158	Bruges attests the agreement between Tommaso Portinari and the Hanse and confirms that he will not make any new claims (Meltzing took this to mean that Portinari would not lay claim to the sums mentioned in 1496)		

Date	Source	Author / recipient	Subject	New information / other
6 January 1500	HR, III/4, no. 208	Lübeck to Gdańsk	Agreement successfully reached with Tommaso Portinari (and re. customs duties, which will remain at the rates of 1487)	
9 July 1500	HR, III/4, no. 239	Aldermen of the Hanseatic <i>Kontor</i> in Bruges to Lübeck	Fulco Portinari makes assurances that the agreement will be respected	

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

- a This refers to new information in relation to that already noted during 1473–1475.
- b Meltzing (op. cit., p. 119) also refers to this.
- c R. de Roover, *The rise*, pp. 347–48.

The above list of documents confirms that by the 1490s there was no doubt whatsoever that Paul Beneke, Gdańsk privateer and caravel commander, had been directly responsible for the attack on the Florentine galley and for the losses suffered by Tommaso Portinari. Notably, this was admitted by the Hanse, adding, as if by way of justification, that the Florentine ship had been carrying English goods. It also appears that Gdańsk managed to persuade Lübeck, Hamburg, and in particular the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* to take a share of the burden for the consequences of the raid, pointing to their financial contributions in equipping the caravel commanded by Beneke. The greatest resistance was put up by Cologne, which felt it had absolutely nothing to do with the wrangle over the galley. One of the reasons why the city of Bruges (see Table 16) decided to resolve the dispute with Tommaso Portinari's nephews was because it was keen to maintain good trade relations with Hanseatic merchants. Thus, gradually, the problem was no longer one of whether to settle with Tommaso Portinari (and subsequently his nephews), but on what terms the settlement should be made. The following table provides a summary of how the

TABLE 16 List of compensation payments made in instalments as per the agreement of 1499

Payment period	Amount	Amount remaining	Paid to
1499/1500 ^a	4000 florins at 40 groats (cash) of the 16,000 due. Payment in Flemish pounds: 666 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs	12,000 florins at 40 groats, the rest to be paid in annual instalments of 2000 from the year 1500	Folco and Benedetto Portinari (Tommaso's nephews)
1500/1501 ^b	2000 florins at 40 groats of the 12,000 outstanding from the sum of 16,000. Payment of over 333 Flemish pounds	10,000 florins (i.e. 1666 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pfennigs groat)	Cornelis Altaniti, Fulco and Benedetto
1501/1502 ^c	100 pounds	9400 florins (i.e. 1566 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pfennigs)	Cornelis Altaniti on behalf of Fulco and Benedetto
1502/1503	9400 florins at 40 groats remained to be paid of the sum of 16,000 florins; quittances attest that a sum of 80 pounds was paid out	8920 florins remained to be paid (i.e. 1486 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs groat)	Cornelis, Fulco and Benedetto Portinari
1504/1505	8920 florins at 40 groats remained to be paid of the sum of 16,000 florins; quittances attest that a sum of 16 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs was paid out	8820 florins remained to be paid (i.e. 1470 pounds groat)	Fulco and Benedetto Portinari

Payment period	Amount	Amount remaining	Paid to
1505/1506	8820 remained to be paid. 16 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs was paid out	8720 florins at 40 groats remained to be paid (i.e. 1453 pounds groat, 6 shillings and 4 pfennigs groat)	Fulco Portinari
1506/1507	16 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs was paid out	8620 florins at 40 groats remained to be paid (i.e. 1436 pounds groat, 6 shillings and 4 pfennigs groat)	Fulco Portinari
1507/1508	16 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pfennigs were paid out	8520 florins at 40 groats remained to be paid, i.e. 1420 pounds groat	Fulco Portinari

SOURCE: COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR

a HR, III/4, no. 157, n. 2, p. 271.

b HR, III/44, no. 157, n. 2, p. 272.

c HR, III/4, no. 157, n. 2, p. 272.

compensation (agreed in late 1499) was paid out in instalments during the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

It should be explained that after 1507/1508 the payment system changed somewhat (and, in addition, when payments were recorded, instead of converting florins at 40 groats, the conversion rate was given for pounds at 40 groats to pound groats). The decision on this issue was made on 18 October 1508. Initially, 1800 pounds at 40 groats (of a total of 3200) was to be paid as follows: 600 pounds at 40 groats by mid-winter 1508, another 600 pounds at 40 groats by Easter 1509 and further instalments thereafter. By the autumn (after October 1509) another payment of 400 pounds should have been made,⁶² amounting to a total of 2200 pounds groat. The council of Flanders determined that 2800 pounds at 40 groats of the total sum should be paid between April and October 1510. It was planned that a further 1400 pounds at 40 groats would

62 This information is entered in financial records under 1510/1511 as the settlement of an account between Phelippe Galteroti and Fulco and Benedicte concerning the sum of 1800 pounds at 40 groats of a total of 3200 pounds "gheliecke ponden": HR, III/4, pp. 272–73.

be paid in instalments of 350 pounds at 40 groats between April and October 1511, 350 pounds in October 1512, 350 in April 1513 and the final 350 in October 1513. In reality, the only payment recorded in the 1510/1511 financial year was of 1800 pounds at 40 groats, equating to 300 pounds groat, noting that 6720 pounds at 40 groats equating to 1120 pounds groat remained to be paid.⁶³

The summary for the following financial year (1511/1512) recorded the payment of 750 pounds at 40 groats. The Hanseatics paid out 350 pounds and then 400 pounds between April and October 1511, hence the sum outstanding was 5970 pounds at 40 groats equating to 995 pounds groat. This was followed by a further remittance of 1500 pounds at 40 groats (i.e. 250 pounds groat) paid in two instalments by October 1512 and April 1513 respectively. This left another 4470 pounds at 40 groats, equating to 745 pounds groat, still to be paid.⁶⁴

The terms of the settlement meant that the sum awarded in damages was paid back on a regular basis, supplying a steady flow of cash. However, it was not enough to allow for any major investments or business ventures to be planned. By 1513 around 745 pounds (4470 pounds at 40 groats) remained to be paid.⁶⁵ Ultimately, the Portinari family stopped badgering Gdańsk for further compensation after 1499, and the case of the galley was conclusively settled thanks to the efforts of Bruges.⁶⁶

63 HR, III/4, p. 273; cf. Meltzing's understanding of this account (op. cit., p. 121): 4000 was to be paid immediately, and the remaining 12,000 would be paid annually in two instalments of 2000 florins each; however, the payments were usually late. (Earlier see Ropp, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 136 – overview only).

64 HR, III/4, p. 273.

65 1 pound (groat) = 20 shillings = 240 pfennigs
 1 shilling = 12 (f)
 pfennig 1

316 coins were recorded as 1 pound 6 shillings 4 pfennigs because $1 \times 240 = 240$ plus $6 \times 12 = 72$ plus 4 = 316.

Payments were made via an intermediary, Cornelius Altoniti (the Portinaris' representative).

66 The fact that it had paid the compensation due the Portinari family was later used as a bargaining chip by the city of Bruges in their negotiations with other Hanseatic towns: see, for example, HR, III/9, no. 588, assembly convened in Lübeck in May 1530.

Conclusion

In the four chapters of this monograph I have examined the history of the ship referred to in medieval and early modern sources as a caravel originally named *Pierre de Rupella* (*Pierre de la Rochelle*) which, having been rebuilt at a shipyard in Gdańsk, was renamed *Peter von Danczik* (*Peter von Danzig*) and used as a warship during 1471–1475 in the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea and the Baltic.

Opinions about what type of vessel she had been and what she may have looked like were heavily influenced by the reconstruction produced by Otto Lienau; however, my research has shown that the sources offer no conclusive evidence on this subject, providing only piecemeal information about the ship's structural details. Caspar Weinreich's late medieval *Danziger Chronik* states the caravel's length and width, but the greatest number of specific details come from her bottomry bond of May 1464, which lists parts of her rigging (sails and cordage). It is this document which reveals that the vessel had three mainsails (and hence also three masts): the mainsail, foresail and mizzen sail, and was equipped with auxiliary sails (bonnets). The bond also records that she had a large anchor and nineteen guns. Other sources, such as a bill and accompanying explanatory letter written by Pierre de Nantes in the autumn of 1464, tell of work carried out in Gdańsk on the ship's new mainmast, and of the purchase of timber for the construction of this mast. Given that guns from the caravel had been used during the capture of Puck in 1464, by 1471 some of them no doubt needed to be replaced. We also know that when the caravel set sail from Gdańsk in August 1471 to take part in the war against England, she was equipped with four anchors, three wind-powered pumps and probably also a type of ship's boat known as an *esping*. In terms of vessel type, the sources consistently refer to *Pierre de la Rochelle* alias *Peter von Danzig* as either a caravel or great caravel.

The maiden voyage of *Pierre de la Rochelle*, owned by Pierre Beuf, a merchant from La Rochelle (and possibly the vessel's first owner), was without question that made as a trade ship captained by Marcus (Aymar) Beuf, setting sail from La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast, crossing the North Sea into the Baltic and thus reaching Gdańsk. The crossing ended in disaster when the ship's mainmast was destroyed in a storm, which resulted in the caravel being held up at the port of Gdańsk until 1471. Nothing is known of crew numbers during the caravel's first "French" period of service, and we can only assume that she was manned by mariners from France (more specifically, possibly from Brittany), some of whom (perhaps several) died and were buried in Gdańsk.

The very fact that the ship had made the journey to Gdańsk was attributable to the trade links and contacts of the city's merchants (burghers) and the consumer demand for Atlantic salt in Prussia (despite the ongoing Thirteen Years' War). The city council of Gdańsk was swift to begin dealing with the case of the damaged caravel. Gdańsk citizens (including city councillors) also became involved in issues concerning the stricken ship, among them magistrate Claus Flint, at whose property her largest anchor was kept, and Jacob Kulemborge, with whom her guns and one of her sails were deposited, as well as Rudolf Feldstete and Tiedeman Bock, who rented out storage space in their granaries. Several citizens of Gdańsk also provided Aymar Beuf with a series of loan and credit guarantees. The caravel's French captain, and his successors, received loans from Symon Lubelow, Hans Olden, Arndt Backer (a former city councillor), Johann Meydeborg and Martin Bock. The Frenchmen also came into contact with Gdańsk clergymen, among them ecclesiastics from the Dominican friary and the churches of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St John, and Sts Peter and Paul. They even provided a source of employment and income (though often unreliable) for "ordinary" Gdańsk citizens working in the service sector, such as tailors, bakers, barbers and washerwomen.

As has already been established, in the autumn of 1463 Aymar Beuf left Gdańsk to return to La Rochelle, where his relative Pierre was gravely ill. Before setting out on the journey to France, Aymar appointed Pierre Bizart as his deputy, and left behind Pierre de Nantes to assist him. The pair had a sum of around 510 marks for repairs to the caravel. When Pierre Bizart died shortly afterwards, Pierre de Nantes became replacement captain. Of this trio, it was de Nantes who seems to have been most concerned about the state of the caravel. It was during his tenure as captain that numerous repairs were made, in particular to the ship's mainmast. Analysis of relevant sources has revealed that Pierre de Nantes consulted Johann Hildebrandt von dem Walde, one of Gdańsk's mayors, about these repairs. Eager to raise the funds required to complete this work, Pierre de Nantes acted in breach of French law by borrowing money from two citizens of Gdańsk, Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, at a very high rate of interest, using the caravel as collateral (known as a bottomry loan). He received 385 marks in cash, meaning that once interest had accrued he would have to return a staggering 1000 marks. It has not been possible to establish how (after the death of Pierre Beuf) King Louis XI of France assumed ownership of the caravel, and we can only speculate that the French monarch may have taken possession of the ship in lieu of the owner's debts. It was not until August 1464 that news of this change in ownership reached Gdańsk, when Aymar Beuf returned from France accompanied by the king's representative, Pierre Cousinot. Both men deemed the bottomry loan contrary to French law,

and at their command Pierre de Nantes, who was very close to finalising the overhaul of the caravel, was imprisoned in Gdańsk. On the strength of a settlement reached in the autumn of 1464, Aymar Beuf and Pierre Cosinoti repaid Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange the loan of 385 marks, and promised to pay them a small sum in compensation for lost interest. Ultimately, however, at the eleventh hour they reneged on this last promise, leaving both Gdańsk citizens demanding compensation from the cash-strapped Pierre de Nantes. Fearing the plague, which was rife in Gdańsk at that time, the two Frenchmen fled the city, appointing three burghers of Gdańsk (mayor Johann Fere, Arndt Backer and Wilhelm Schneider) to supervise affairs concerning the caravel, which had deteriorated since her renovation had suddenly been cut short, and by September had even begun to list dangerously. The refusal of the French to honour not just the interest accrued on the loan but even the small sum of compensation suggested as a compromise by the Gdańsk lenders became the immediate cause of the ship's detention in the city port, with all of the consequences which this entailed (as outlined in Chapter 1). The municipal authorities of Gdańsk were compelled to defend the interests of their citizens, Rudolf Feldstete and Caspar Lange, as they did not wish to set a precedent in which one side could break the terms of an agreement without at least paying some form of redress. In the autumn of 1464 Gdańsk sequestered equipment from the caravel (her boat, cannon and gunpowder) for use by the city's troops, then engaged in battle in Puck, though the city council later refused to admit to this fact officially.

Gdańsk would not withdraw its compensation claims for loss of profit expected in interest payments on the loan that had been granted by its citizens, whilst the French insisted that they had repaid the sum lent to Pierre de Nantes, and thus two years of stalemate over this issue ensued. In 1466 the French threatened to act on a letter of reprisal if the caravel was not returned, which in practice would have involved the detention of Gdańsk vessels calling at French ports; however, this threat proved ineffectual. The caravel continued to deteriorate in Gdańsk's port, and her local guardians, designated by the French, were forced to gradually sell off her rigging (sails), which was bought by citizens of Gdańsk: the seafaring merchant Mathias Negedanck, Berndt Grysowen and Jacob Kulemborge.

In February 1470 a specially appointed Hanseatic commission defined the caravel's condition as very poor, describing her as decayed and dilapidated, and concluding that she should be dismantled. Plans for the ship to be broken up were, however, abandoned when war broke out between the Hanse and England, and in the spring of 1470 the city council of Gdańsk decided that the caravel should undergo a major overhaul and be given over to naval activities

under the command of Gdańsk councillor Berndt Pawest. The repair work, of which no details are known, took a whole year to complete, but by May 1471 the task of stocking the ship with provisions was already underway. Ultimately, the caravel's nine-year-long stay in the port of Gdańsk (1462–1471) was dictated not only by the storm damage she had suffered, but by a complex set of circumstances. These included a change in ownership from private to royal hands (King Louis XI of France), the fateful bottomry loan, and, finally, the failure of France and Gdańsk to reach a compromise and resolve the dispute over compensation.

The caravel set out on her second voyage on 19 August 1471, now renamed *Peter von Danczik*, carrying over three hundred people (most of them mercenaries). She was accompanied by a second vessel, a small caravel commanded by Michael Ertmann. At some point in time both ships crossed The Sound and headed for the coast of Holland. On 16 October, after 58 days at sea, they reached the port of Berszhuck, near the Zeeland (Dutch) port of Veere. Foul weather encountered during this voyage damaged the rudder of *Peter von Danczik* and so severely battered the smaller caravel that she was deemed not worth repairing. During his time in command of the caravel, Berndt Pawest regularly sent letters to the city council of Gdańsk, virtually providing a running commentary of the latest developments; these letters (over thirty of which survive) are one of the most valuable sources of information about the ship's history. The municipal authorities received and replied to these letters, making use of what they learned from them in their negotiations with cities such as Lübeck and Hamburg, whilst also sending aid to the caravel in the guise of money (though only small sums) and food rations.

Commanding such a large vessel and sizeable crew caused Berndt Pawest numerous problems. This was not because the Gdańsk councillor lacked skill or leadership qualities, but rather because of external difficulties. These included dissatisfaction among the crew (later even developing into mutiny) over insufficient or erratic remuneration for their services, in the face of competitive actions taken by the English (as reported in one of Pawest's letters), who lured away the Gdansk mercenaries by promising them higher wages. Pay levels and regularity of payments were essentially beyond Pawest's control, and many of his efforts were aimed at securing decent food rations for his crew (even on credit). The drama of the situation he found himself in is best reflected in one of his letters, in which he states that he does not know what to do: remain in port or set sail to seek out the enemy at sea.

Having carried out essential repairs to the caravel, Berndt Pawest did not wait for any other Hanseatic warships (from Lübeck or Hamburg), sailing instead from the port of Berszhuck on 6 January 1472, and engaging in action

in the North Sea, the English Channel and the Atlantic for nine weeks, until 6 March 1472. Although the ship's actions did not result in any resounding victories, they severely disrupted the movements of English vessels in this region, which naturally led to financial losses for English merchants and fishermen alike. However, operating in bad weather took its toll on the caravel. The hull sprang leaks as its caulking failed (a common problem among vessels with flush-laid planking), and her bulkheads were damaged, as were the living quarters of the crew and commander. In critical circumstances, using pumps and having provisionally plugged the hull, Pawest and his crew managed to steer the ship to the port of Sluis near Bruges. A further significant move made by Berndt Pawest was to persuade other members of the Hanse (in particular the merchants of the Bruges *Kontor*) to finance another costly overhaul. The warship was removed from the water and her hull was made watertight; timber was imported from Antwerp to carry out repairs and structural work, and ten ship's carpenters were hired. The stay which this work entailed lasted from March to August 1472, which meant that the caravel was unable to join in with actions against the English launched at that time by warships from Lübeck and Hamburg. Ironically, this episode probably saved the Gdańsk vessel from the fate which befell her Lübeck counterparts on 19 July 1472, when they were set ablaze by the English near Wielingen.

Prompted by unfavourable circumstances, in particular the loss of part of his crew through desertion, Berndt Pawest gained permission from the city council of Gdańsk to hand the caravel over to the command of the Gdańsk privateer Paul Beneke, who had already been noted for his numerous successes at sea. Practically everyone had suggested Paul Beneke as a successor to Berndt Pawest from the moment the latter had begun searching for a replacement. Negotiations with Beneke were complicated from the outset by the fact that he did not want to be paid a wage for his services (as the city council of Gdańsk had paid Pawest), but to be given a one-sixteenth share in ownership of the caravel. Commanding his own privateer warship gave him time to negotiate the terms of his taking over command of the caravel. However, the loss of his own vessel, through a navigator's error which left her washed up on the shore near Sluis, resulted in Beneke taking charge of the great caravel in the summer of 1472. Under his direct command the ship set sail in September 1472, protected by an earlier arranged convoy of Hanseatic vessels heading for Hamburg laden with cloth. It was Pawest who took command of the entire convoy (ahistorically speaking, as a commodore). After 38–39 days at sea, the convoy, safeguarded by the Gdańsk caravel, reached Hamburg on 13 October 1472. This time, the caravel did not incur any major damage, other than tearing one of her sails, for which a replacement had to be made in Hamburg. It was also in this

city that Berndt Pawest came ashore, ending his naval service. Although whilst in command of the caravel, in his letters to the city council of Gdańsk he had frequently expressed his desire to spend the rest of his life at his family home, not long afterwards (in the spring of 1473) he was sent to attend the Anglo-Hanseatic peace negotiations in Utrecht.

In late 1472 / early 1473 the Gdańsk city authorities, which had hitherto managed the caravel and were expecting the war to end, decided to sell her into private hands. The buyers were three Gdańsk burghers: Johann Sidinghusen, Heinrich Niederhof and Tiedemann Valandt, who acknowledged Paul Beneke's share in this enterprise (a one-sixteenth share in ownership). Everything suggests that by demanding a share in ownership of the caravel, Beneke was planning to use her in an operation that would help him capture a significant prize, which would have been beyond his means whilst in command of a smaller vessel. Being fully aware of the situation at ports on the south coast of the North Sea and the English Channel, he had probably planned from the outset to attack the richly-laden galleys that plied routes between Pisa, the Netherlandish ports and England, even though they sailed under the flag of Burgundy, which was neutral in the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict. It is certain that when, after the winter break in sailing, Beneke left Hamburg in the spring of 1473 it was with the intention of attacking these vessels, though officially he was to patrol routes up to the coast of northern Spain (to "St James"), where he expected to waylay the galleys as they returned from England. Ultimately, events unfolded somewhat differently: unpredictable weather delayed the galleys' departure from the Netherlandish ports, and Beneke launched his assault on them much earlier, whilst they were still en route to England. He managed to seize one of the galleys (*St Andrew/St Matthew*), while the other took refuge in Southampton. The great caravel, with its captured prize, then headed for the Hanseatic ports, successfully attacking a Dutch ship on the way, though as Beneke was unable to assign a prize crew to her, she was simply stripped of her cargo and set free. The Gdańsk warship made a stop in mid-June 1473, firstly in Hamburg, and later in Stade. This voyage (including the return passage) was the caravel's fifth.

Paul Beneke's position as commander of a warship, which the caravel was at that time, was particularly unusual given that the two warring sides, namely England and the Hanse, were at that point eager to enter peace talks. Thus, the daring attack on the Florentine galley *St Andrew/St Matthew*, which in different circumstances may even have been deemed laudable, was met with consternation by the Hanseatic League. Beneke undoubtedly achieved a military success, claiming a prize and with it a rich bounty worth several times more than the budget of many a medieval state. From the perspective of the crew and mercenaries this was a cause for celebration, as it meant that they were

entitled to a share of the appropriated goods. The attack itself proved problematic, not least because the galley had been sailing under the flag of Burgundy, which had remained neutral in the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict and was even amicably inclined towards the Hanse. The later, fairly dubious excuses made by Paul Beneke, namely that he had failed to notice the galley was flying Burgundian colours, were used in his defence, led by Berndt Pawest, but did not convince the injured party (Tommaso Portinari and his business partners). Thus, Beneke unwittingly embroiled Gdańsk and other Hanseatic towns in an international conflict, as detailed in Chapter 3. Those involved in the affairs of the galley included the Medici and other famous Florentine families, Pope Sixtus IV, and – because of his connections with them – Duke Charles the Bold. The dispute over compensation had already begun during the course of negotiations in Utrecht. Those leading talks on behalf of the injured party included the duke's secretary, Lambert de Ee, as well Tommaso Portinari's partner, Cristofano Spini; meanwhile, among those who defended the interests of the Hanse was Berndt Pawest.

Following hot on Paul Beneke's heels to Hamburg was Francesco Sermattei, the patron of the captured galley, a delegation from Gdańsk (led by Berndt Pawest) on their way to negotiations in Utrecht, and representatives from Lübeck. Without involving Hamburg, whose authorities had forbidden their citizens from purchasing anything from the captured vessel, Gdańsk and Lübeck came to an agreement about the division of spoils: the galley was to be broken up and sold, with the proceeds being divided up as prize money among the caravel's crew, commander and owners.

In October 1473, commanded by Paul Beneke, the caravel put out from the port of Stade on her sixth successive voyage and arrived sometime later in Gdańsk, where she made a lengthy stop. Her active service came to an end as a result of her seventh voyage, which she made in 1475 from Gdańsk to La Rochelle. At some point prior to August 1475, whilst in the vicinity of Brouge, the caravel sustained such severe damage that it marked the end of her career. It was also at this time that there was a dispute over pay between Beneke and the ship's crew.

Thus, over the course of 13 years the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* aka *Peter von Danizg* completed seven voyages, the first three of which ended in damage requiring repairs, two of them on a major scale. This entailed significant costs, which necessitated borrowing and even collateral loans. The damage in question was undoubtedly caused in part by the ravages of the sea, but also (and possibly primarily) by the imperfect design of the caravel. Few details are known of the ship's navigation. The view put forward in the literature that Berndt Pawest most probably had a copy of Hamburg's *Das Seebuch* at his

disposal seems quite credible. Weather conditions had an impact on the fate of the caravel, winds taking centre stage as the driving force which propelled sailing ships. The case of the caravel illustrates that a wind which was either too strong or too light could make sailing very difficult or even impossible.

The personalities of the caravel's two Gdańsk commanders are best reflected in their own writings. Berndt Pawest, whose letters constitute a kind of ship's log, comes across as a diplomat, worrying about appearing in Bruges inadequately dressed for the task of representing his city. The sea induced in him a sense of awe as well as fear, compelling him to invoke patron saints, in particular St James. Though Pawest had a great deal of respect for the skills of his naval crew (for example, the helmsman, whom he deemed worth ten men), he did not hide his negative opinions and resentment of mercenaries. It was because of them that he felt "old and grey". His critical view of the situation he faced was doubtless exacerbated by his financial problems and by the constant necessity of having to ask for money. The literary efforts of Berndt Pawest certainly do not compare with the accounts written by medieval travellers, such as the Dominican pilgrim Felix Faber of Ulm. It is, however, worth emphasising one last time that Pawest's letters provide a unique insight, not only into the history of the caravel *Peter von Danzig*, but also into the political, and in particular social, context of late medieval seafaring.

The documentary legacy represented by Paul Beneke's letters amounts to barely a few replies to questions that had been addressed to him. It is clear from his responses that naval service was no problem for this Gdańsk privateer, but simply a part of his life. A consequence of this fact is, however, that we have a far more detailed, though undoubtedly subjective, eyewitness account of events during Pawest's service, whilst for the period when Beneke was in command we have to rely on indirect reports. Judging from these, it would appear that for Paul Beneke all of the difficulties encountered in commanding mercenaries and making quick decisions were merely part and parcel of his everyday life as a privateer. His focus was on acquiring loot and capturing prizes, hence, as detailed in Chapter 3, the attack on the galley *St Andrew/St Matthew* was no random incident. The fact that Beneke later went to the lengths of coming up with an excuse for what had happened, blaming his actions on a storm and his failure to notice the flag of the neutral Duchy of Burgundy, is a different matter.

The story of the caravel also illustrates the significance of diplomacy in contemporary late medieval international relations. New sources discovered during my research into the caravel allow for a broader understanding of the diplomatic steps taken by the Gdańsk chancery, as well as its Polish and royal counterparts, during the reign of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.

The fundamental diplomatic measures adopted by the city council of Gdańsk were the exchange of letters and missions typical of the period. The case of the caravel no doubt enlivened contacts both with King Louis XI of France and with the aldermen of the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Bruges. Letters were sent through intermediaries, in particular Lübeck. Gdańsk, having by this time already submitted to King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of Poland, now petitioned him for both legal and diplomatic assistance. In the case of the latter, at least initially, the king's chancery did not give a very good account of itself, making a gaffe in one letter by mistaking the name of the reigning French monarch (citing his name as Charles instead of Louis). The issue of the caravel was also discussed at assemblies of the Royal Prussian estates. Crucially, Gdańsk established contact with the ruler of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, also maintaining good relations with the lord of Veere. Gdańsk also received envoys sent by Louis XI – Pierre Cousinot – and by Charles the Bold – Anzelmo Adornus accompanied by Ludovico, patriarch of Antioch. The diplomatic tactics employed by Gdańsk recorded successes, such as securing adjournments or restraints from action (broadly speaking, with the exception of minor incidents) on letters of reprisal issued by both Louis XI and Charles the Bold. The ownership and overhaul of a vessel as large as the caravel became a bargaining asset when seeking support from Lübeck and the aldermen of the Bruges *Kontor* for the planned war against England. The impression which the caravel herself made on members of the Hanse (and others besides) was also a significant factor, resulting as it did in the elevation of Gdańsk's prestige (opinions began to circulate that it was a wealthy city which had no need to economise). Details of the negotiations conducted at that time are revealed in Berndt Pawest's reports of his successive visits to Bruges, where he held many hours of discussions with the aldermen of the local *Kontor*, reminding them of his own merits and arguing for Gdańsk to be granted the right to build ships for non-Hanseatic clients.

The 13-year-long history of the caravel and its links with Gdańsk can be summed up as follows. In terms of research into the maritime history of a late medieval city – both detailed and general – it is unquestionably the most interesting and best illustrated history of an individual vessel of the period. No similar information about the fate of captains/commanders and crews from this city is available on a comparable scale until the modern period.

To this day *Peter von Danzig* remains imprinted in the general public consciousness as the Gdańsk warship which the privateer Paul Beneke used to effect his daring raid. This remark is especially true of visitors to the National Museum in Gdańsk and its exhibition of the *Last Judgement* triptych by Hans Memling. In addition to recalling the caravel's French origins, including the exploits of her captain Aymar Beuf in Gdańsk, this monograph is intended

to raise awareness of the fact that during 1471–1472 she served under the command of the Gdańsk councillor Berndt Pawest, and to establish the most likely version of events concerning Paul Beneke's raid. All of these episodes make up the title story of the great caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* alias *Peter von Danzig*.

In terms of future research, it would be interesting to examine a topic touched on in the introduction, namely what impact the presence in Gdańsk's port of the caravel *Pierre de la Rochelle* alias *Peter von Danzig* had on the development of shipbuilding in this city. The answer to this question can only be provided by further detailed enquiry into the history of sea-going vessels in Gdańsk. However, it seems that referring to written records will not suffice in this respect, and that materials recovered thanks to underwater archaeology may prove helpful, if not essential, in this instance. It may also be worth investigating whether Johan Sidinghusen, one of the Gdańsk owners of the caravel, who lived and remained active until 1510, was not in some way involved in commissioning the *Ship of the Church* – a painting which hung in the Artus Court (Guildhall) in Gdańsk almost until the end of the Second World War. Researching this subject would require the collaborative efforts of social historians (focusing on the late-medieval elite) and art historians.

One thing seems certain: thanks to the caravel, Gdańsk was much talked about both in the Hanseatic world and beyond.

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